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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUMANIAN NOVEL

THE RUMANIAN novel was anxiously awaited at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. A phalanx of patriotic writers and statesmen, former exiles, victims of the 1848 régime which had quenched the flames fanned by western revolutionary winds, bent all their energies towards the development of an indigenous literature, abundant in variety and similar to the European models.

"Mr. Colescu urged me to remain with them for good and become one of the family, telling me that it was his duty to do everything for me because I have talent and must strive to give the Rumanian language a new vein of literary life. He also stated that his heart pains him when he sees the fine arts and letters blooming in other nations, and in our country nothing, nothing!"<sup>1</sup>

Thus explains Manoil his stay at Boyar Colescu's residence.

In 1850 the *Gazeta de Moldavia* tries to acclimatize the genus with the anonymously published *Secrets of the Heart*. The work, attributed to Mihail Kogălniceanu, is not finished, however, and, in 1855, after two other attempts, the first acclaimed piece to mark the start takes shape: *Manoil* by Dimitrie Bolintineanu.

In the comfortable form of letters, with a vocabulary and style showing the earmarks of the epoch and the shortcomings of the romantic poet he was, Bolintineanu tells a story which he resumes later, in 1862, in his sequel to *Manoil*, *Elena*. The plot is more of an expedient to portray the social and political

<sup>1</sup> Dimitrie Bolintineanu, *Manoil*.

aspects of the country, and above all to make Rumanian characters move about in Rumanian settings. Both books have historical value today, their only reason for existence. Yet the author interested his contemporaries and the novel was launched.

*Old and New Parvenus, or What is Born of a Cat Will Chase a Rat*, by Nicolae Filimon, is still quoted as a literary monument of consequence. One finds perhaps too primitive, though gaudy, descriptions of the Phanariote period, and too direct and rhetorical arraignments of the evils of the time. Nevertheless, the days of 1821, of Tudor Vladimirescu's revolt against the hetaerists, are skilfully evoked at intervals; and Filimon continuously uses the whip against the newly rich, the *ciocoi*, the former servants in the mansions of the boyars, holders of high state offices, now lords and high officials in their turn.

The Phanariotes, the Greeks of Phanar,—a suburb in Constantinople,—who served as dragomans or secretaries at the Porte and who obtained the thrones of Moldavia and Wallachia for very short terms, paid heavily for the privilege not only to rule but also defray candidature expenses and bribes and, chiefly, add glittering gold to their private coffers. Consequently they most peremptorily enforced exacting fiscal laws. As these Phanariote princes were frequently changed at the caprice of the Porte, the thrones being offered to the highest bidders, one can imagine what the levying of taxes, by creatures brought from Stamboul and often reared in the land, meant to the population of the Danubian principalities.

A new class, of the idle, began to thrive under that administration which wrought havoc in the subjugated provinces. And Filimon depicts it with eager bitterness. He takes as a prototype Dinu Păturică, the son of a petty tax-collector, who enters as a mere domestic in the house of the *Postelnic* Andronake Tuzluc, a former servant himself and now the High Chamberlain of Ion George Caragea, the ruling Prince of Wallachia; and he makes Dinu Păturică ascend the social steps in a rapid succession of events, moulded by his own shrewdness and that of Kera Duduca, the mistress of his master and finally his own. But his intrigues for Ypsilanti, the head of the Hetaeria, against Tudor Vladimirescu are discovered, and the rascal ends in disgrace and death.



One would expect an immediate and sufficient harvest of novels after these first seeds planted in the rich soil of the Rumanian literary realm, where the Oriental and Occidental traditions blend in an even atmosphere, where folklore drips with savory originality, where the short story, the verse, and even the drama yield masterpieces packed with depth, splendor, and humor.

The fact is that we scarcely find any novel of interest until 1881, when Nicolae Xenopol, goaded by the trend of pessimism, brings out his *Firs and Decay*, to be followed by Duiliu Zamfirescu who offers his first venture *de longue haleine*, *Facing Life*, and Constantin Mille who publishes *Dinu Millian*, a realistic interpretation of the struggles and hardships of the young, idealistic and poor student who leaves the patriarchal quiet of his native town for the fiery dragon with seven devouring heads: Bucharest, the Capital.

Barbu Delavrancea, in 1893, injects more vitality into the novel with *Parasites*, in which the young, idealistic, and poor student, who apparently becomes the favorite hero of the few novelists of the decade, is rescued by the artistic hand of the author from the mire of Bucharest life—the same as in any other metropolis.

The year 1894 is a memorable date in the history of the Rumanian novel. It was then that Alexandru Vlahuță published *Dan*. Dan is the same young intellectual of plebeian birth we have met before, now established as a professor of philosophy and Rumanian in the most fashionable school for girls in Bucharest. He falls in love with one of his pupils, Ana, who belongs to a wealthy family, and marries her. Their ménage is but of short duration. The difference of social standing is too great. It is so much so, that their lives end in tragedy.

Here one discovers the same problems discussed by other writers of the epoch: the rapid introduction of Western standards, the rise of a new generation of peasant stock educated in the light of contemporary Europe, the old viewpoint of families imbedded in tradition and class distinction, and the individual plebeian struggling against society with no other support than his inborn character, which is, thanks to his ancestry, sound.

The pioneers must succumb, nevertheless. The slow process of drawing new energies from the national reservoir of the many and the obscure will strike victims.

In 1894 also Duiliu Zamfirescu issues the first of the series of the *Family Comăneşteanu: Life in the Country*. The novelist tries to show Rumanian life, with all its perspectives, in this as well as in the following four books of the sequel. As he confesses in the preface to the fourth edition of *Life in the Country*, his intention is

"to direct the love of Rumanians to their land in the valley of the Danube, and with them to redeem Transylvania. He who has read *Redresses* and *Ana* understands that I was preparing young Comăneşteanu for this end. I had to write the sixth and last volume. The Rumanian people itself seems to wish to write these pages. As a patriot I can only bow to it and give to it my two sons whom the Lord granted me."<sup>2</sup>

What saves *Life in the Country* is the lovely character of Saşa, who lends charm and wholesomeness to the slowly moving drama of a noble family that dissolves itself.

Tănase Scatiu is Dan's brother, less educated and far from idealistic, but fighting tooth and nail for what he considers his right. The author himself belongs to the boyardom, and obviously he does not view with satisfaction the changes forged by new conditions. To him the newcomers are intruders. He is more than convinced that Tănase Scatiu, who intends to marry the daughter of the landowner, has the daring of Dinu Păturică of yore. To be sure, Tănase Scatiu does resemble astonishingly his Phanariote ancestor. Yet the later *ciocoi* is favored by circumstances and acts quite within the law.

Zamfirescu, moreover, looks down upon the tillers of the soil. His peasants, if they are not mannikins, are far from flesh-and-bone villagers. *Life in the Country* does not emphasize them. They are the necessary detail, more for the sake of local color. Later, in *Redresses*, Zamfirescu makes amendments in favor of the Transylvanian peasantry.

The war which first lacerated Rumania's face and thrust deadly wounds into her body reunited once more the sister

<sup>2</sup> Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Life in the Country*, Fourth Edition, 1914.

provinces under one scepter. Transylvania became part and parcel of Rumania. The eighty-per-cent peasantry, the many, the obscure, contributed at least as much as the Comăneşteanu to this end.

Ion Slavici, who knew the Transylvanian peasant more intimately, approached him with understanding in *The Abandoned Hearth*. In this and other works of his one feels the warmth of a brother. Ion Agârbiceanu, of the same Transylvanian stock, pictured the villagers with sympathy. Vasile Pop, of Wallachian birth, introduced them in *Princess Viorica*. C. Sandu-Aldea, also a Wallachian, and Mihail Sadoveanu, the famous Moldavian writer, drew their inspiration from the fields.

Notwithstanding *Sămănătorism* and *Poporanism*,<sup>3</sup> currents fostering the return to the village, the novel of peasant life loomed only faintly. Rustics were still considered uninteresting. One even gave up the thought of ever creating masterpieces from such perishable material. There was a general understanding that the novel can be nurtured by mature urban society only. And Rumanian society spoke French and aped Western manners. In unanimous discouragement there were towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth a few novelists who did not give up hope, in spite of the black outlook. War thundered then at the gates of Rumania, and the bloody tragedy was enacted.

Though the cannons paralyze the pen for several years, peace revives it. Poets haloed by glory, short story writers crowned with praise, playwrights spoiled by plaudits, journalists petted by readers, critics feared and omnipotent, society ladies admired and sung by poets, they all dip deep into the ink-wells to help create novels. The publishers are delighted to accept them, since the public pays good money and demands more. Best-sellers reach the twenty-three-thousand mark in a relatively short time, in a country where only yesterday the maximum was five thousand in at least five years.

This may be the age of the novel in Rumanian literature. New Rumania, which begins in the heart of Central Europe and ends near the Russian steppes, suffers and rejoices in the con-

<sup>3</sup> From the words *sămănător* (sower) and *popor* (people).

tinental struggles and hopes. From a little kingdom of seven million inhabitants, the state has grown into a territory more than double in size with a population of seventeen million. Compulsory education to the age of sixteen is preparing readers. The distribution of land and the political emancipation of the peasantry will bring in an element to be reckoned with. Energies are awakening.

The sign of robust creation is beginning to show itself. Liviu Rebreanu publishes, in 1920, *Ion*, a novel of peasant life. It is a respectable achievement. *Ion*, the villager who adores the soil he tills, is seized with an irresistible passion to own it. He is poor and ignorant. Shrewdness he has, however, and cruelty to stifle natural leanings, ambition and patience. Without loving her, he marries the daughter of a rich neighbor, also a villager, ignorant, cruel and shrewd. The little woman, ugly and nescient but soft hearted, is afraid of the two men, her husband and her father, who fight for the piece of land coveted by the son-in-law, until she commits suicide rather than interfere in their quarrel.

The plot is here stripped to the bone. From the six hundred pages there rises a village in Transylvania, the native province of the author, surrounded by hills and fields, populated by men, women and children of all standings and character. There is the village teacher and his family, the priest, the officials, and a few other neighboring villagers. The place is swarming with activity like a bee-hive. And the passion of *Ion* is powerfully brought out in relief.

This is perhaps the Rumanian novel, anxiously awaited at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, fortold by the *Sămănătorism* and *Poporanism* of the pre-war period. Rebreanu watches his characters and lets them act according to their impulses. Nevertheless he comes in once in a while to paint the scene with accurateness and oftentimes with art.

*The Forest of the Hanged* shows marked progress in Rebreanu's craft. Apostol Bologa, a Transylvanian officer in the Austrian army, fights for his fostermother-country with sincerity, with eagerness, as long as he is on the western front. He even con-

demns to death a Czechoslovak who tried to go over the lines to join his brethren. With great care he helps in the arrangement of the execution, and feels the noose to make sure that the rope will not give way. Then an order comes that he join the eastern wing to attack Rumania. The change wrought in the heart of Apostol Bologa, the Rumanian, constitutes the pungent, heartrending last moments—vividly described—of this additional victim in the forest of the martyrs of nationalism.

In *Adam and Eve*, Rebreanu experiments with a novel method, taking up in seven different historical settings the eternal couple.

More ample, more finished, more original, Mihail Sadoveanu, not quite twenty-four years old, made his debut with the historical novel *The Falcons*, in which the adventures and battles of the Brothers Potcoavă are masterfully drawn. The same year Sadoveanu began a serial in the weekly *Sămănătorul*, *Withered Flower*, the young woman who wastes away her days in the weariness of a tiny town.

"To the simple provincial functionaries the author dedicates this book, monotonous as the life it includes,"<sup>4</sup>

reads the inscription on the front page of the novel. Yet the excuse for writing it is obviously the result of the widely spread opinion of that time that small towns cannot inspire great performances. Think of *Madame Bovary*, and imagine Flaubert cherishing such convictions.

*Invasion Times* revives the legendary epoch, and with it Sadoveanu creates again a world of terror and charm. *The Diary of Nicolae Manea* moves more rapidly than *Withered Flower*, although the same weariness is depicted. And in *Young Lady Marguerite* another social set serves as a medium for the creation of a younger heroine. With *The Water of the Dead* and *The Family Șoimărești* the pre-war activity of Sadoveanu ends.

After the war Sadoveanu writes a chronicle of the days of stress in Jassy, *Lăpușneanu Street*, and *The Tears of Benjamin the Monk*. In *Men from the Moon* he transplants the straight

<sup>4</sup> Mihail Sadoveanu, *Withered Flower*.

and lonely mountaineer to the turmoil of the Capital. His latest, *A Mill Came on the Sereth*, just published, shows the same qualities of the master.

Nature mingles with his characters in all his writings, and Sadoveanu can sketch a hero in the midst of the eternal elements. The valley of the Sereth and the winds blowing from the open spaces of the north, beasts and birds, the minute blades of grass as well as the giant oak trees, rain and fog, sun and snow, they are all part and parcel of his world.

V. Demetrius, less appreciated although gifted with great power of analysis, is master of a sober technique. Ion Minulescu, the troubadour of the *Songs for Later Years*, tries his hand with *Red-Yellow-Blue*, a novel in which the originality of the poet and the attitude of the sceptic blend harmoniously. Jean Bart, a powerful prose craftsman, approaches the novel in *Princess Bibița*. Corneliu Moldovanu, in *The Purgatory*, and N. Davidescu, in *Conservative & Co.*, display much skill. Eugen Relgis tells in his trilogy *Petru Arbore* the adventures of the mind in the limitless realm of the inner life. It is the study of the soul of a young dreamer who passes through this world of misery led by the yearning for perfection. Dem. Teodorescu succeeds in arresting attention with *The City of the Ideal* and *Under the Red Banner*. F. Aderca offers this year *The Decomposed Man*, a remarkable vivisection of the heart which loses itself, piece by piece, in its search for the desired woman. Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu creates with subtlety, and her sisters-in-art Lucia Mantu and Henriette Yvonne Stahl bring in loveliness and stark realism respectively. Ionel Teodoreanu gives great promise with *At Medeleni*.

Panait Istrati, the now famous author of *Kyra Kyralina*, *Oncle Anghel*, *Présentation des Haïdoucs*, novels first written in French and translated into many languages, rewrites *Uncle Anghel* in Rumanian, thus presenting a rare gift to the literature of the land of his birth. Istrati is, of course, at home when he handles the idiom of his youth; and his heroes, though humble, appear more grandiose in their native garb.

Indeed, the array of novelists in the making is impressive. One need not despair of the future.



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<sup>5</sup> Some dates are not available; the translations of titles, whenever possible, are literal.

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*durii: The Bridegroom of Suffering*, 1919; *A fost un vis: It Was a Dream*, 1920; *Dascălul: The Teacher*, 1920; *Intrigă amoroasă: Amorous Intrigue*, 1920; *Seducătorul: The Seducer*, 1920; *Viața sbruciumată: Tormented Life*, 1921; *Două dureri: Two Grievs*, 1921; *Străin în țara lui: A Stranger in His Own Country*, 1923; *Viață de artistă: The Life of the Actress*, 1925; *Drama unei tinereți: The Drama of a Youth*, 1926.—REBREANU, LIVIU (b. 1885), *Ion*, 1920; *Pădurea spânzuraților: The Forest of the Hanged*, 1922; *Adam și Eva: Adam and Eve*, 1924.—RELIGIS, EUGEN (b. 1895), *Petru Arbore*, 1924; *Pe muntele vieții: On the Mountain of Life*, (MS.); *Prieteniile lui Petru Arbore: Petru Arbore's Friendships*, (MS.).—ROSETTI, RADU (?-1926), *Păcatele Sulgerului: The Seneschal's Sins*, 1912.—SADOVEANU, MIHAIL (b. 1880), *Șoimii: The Falcons*, 1904; *Floare ofilită: Withered Flower*, 1904; *Vremuri de bejenie: Invasion Times*, 1906; *Insemnările lui Nicolae Manea: The Diary of Nicolae Manea*, 1907; *Duduia Margareta: Young Lady Marguerite*, 1908; *Apa morților: The Water of the Dead*, 1911; *Neamul Șoimăreștilor: The Family Șoimărești*, 1915; *Strada Lăpușneanu: Lăpușneanu Street*, 1921; *Lacrimile Ieromonahului Veniamin: The Tears of Benjamin the Monk*, 1922; *Oameni din lună: Men from the Moon*, 1924; *Venea o moară pe Siret: A Mill Was Coming on the Sereth*, 1925.—SANDU-ALDEA, C. (b. 1874), *Două neamuri: Two Nations*, 1906; *Pe Mărgineanca: On Mărgineanca*, 1912.—SAVEL, VASILE, *Miron Grindea*, 1921; *Vadul hoților: The Ford of the Thieves*, 1926.—ȘERBĂNESCU, AUREL N., *Nenorociții: The Unfortunate*.—SILVAN, GH., *Pentru neațărnare: For Independence*, 1906.—SLAVICI, ION (1848-1925), *Mara*, 1895; *Vatra părăsită: The Abandoned Hearth*, 1900; *Din bătrâni: From the Old*, 1902; *Manea*, 1906; *Spiru Călin*, 1908; *Din valurile vieții: From the Waves of Life*, 1909; *Cel din urmă armaș: The Last Armiger*, 1923.—SPERANȚIA, EUGENIU (b. 1888), *Casa cu nalbă: The House with Mallows*, 1926.—SPERANȚIA, TEODOR (b. 1857), *Feigala; Mă 'nșală: Deceives Me*, 1921; *Vinomată: Guilty*, 1922.—STAHL, HENRIETTE YVONNE, *Voica*, 1924.—STAHL, HENRY, *Un Român în lună: A Rumanian in the Moon*.—STOENESCU, TEODOR M. (1860-1919), *Muma copilului: The Mother of the Child*, 1887.—STOICAN, I. I., *Eva*, 1920; *Înflorau trandafirii: The Roses Were Blooming*, 1920; *Pribeagind prin deșert: Wandering Through the Desert*, 1923; *Biserica arsă: The Burned Church*, 1923; *Tragedia multă: The Silent Tragedy*.—TAFRALI, O., *Urmărind idealul: Pursuing the Ideal*, 1921.—TEODOREANU, IONEL, *La Medeleni: At Medeleni*, 1926.—THEODORESCU, DEM., *Cetatea idealului: The City of the Ideal*, 1920; *Sub flamura roșie: Under the Red Banner*, 1926.—THEODORIAN-CARADA, MARIUS, *Maica Sofia: Sister Sophie; Stingher: Alone*, 1923.—THEODORIAN, CATON, *Sângele Solovenilor: The Blood of the Soloveni*, 1908.—TODIE, EUGEN, *Robii pământului: The Slaves of the Soil: Hărdăul lui Satan: Satan's Trough*, 1926.—VISARION, ION C. (b. 1883), *Petre Părcălabul*, 1921.—VIȚIANU, ALEXANDRU, *Iubire pentru iubire: Love for Love's Sake; Valsul fără nume: The Nameless Walte; Pe alături de viață: Near Life*, 1925.—VLADIMIR, SONIA, *Jurnalul unei femei gravide: A Mother's Diary*, 1924.—VLAHUȚĂ, ALEXANDRU (1858-1919), *Dan*, 1894.—VRIONI, AIDA, *Rătăcire: Blunder*, 1923.—VULCAN, IOSIF (1841-1907), *Sclavul amorului: The Slave of Love*, 1875; *Ranele naștunii: The Wounds of the Nation*, 1876; *Fata popii: The Priest's Daughter*, 1886.—ZAMFIRESCU, DULIU (1858-1922), *În fața vieții: Facing Life*, 1884; *Lume nouă și lume veche: New and Old Ways*, 1892; *Viața la țară: Life in the*

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## ZORRILLA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO ZAMORA

IN ALL plays dealing with the Don Juan legend written subsequent to Tirso de Molina, Don Juan is, in all essentials, the "Burlador de Sevilla"; nevertheless, the type has undergone considerable modifications in the two most important Spanish variants—the play of Antonio de Zamora (?–1728), with the title, *No hay deuda que no se pague, y convidado de piedra*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Don Juan Tenorio* of José Zorrilla (1817–1893). The Zamora play, published for the first time, so far as is known, in 1744, marks the beginning in Spain of a revival of interest in Don Juan, after an interval of slightly more than a hundred years. It was acted (either in the original or in a *refundición*) with considerable regularity during the first two weeks of November every year up to the publication of Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, and even persisted for a time thereafter, the great popularity which Zorrilla's *comedia* later attained being somewhat slow of development.

Was there really a *refundición* of Zamora's play which Zorrilla could have known? In his own *Recuerdos*,<sup>2</sup> he mentions one by Solís. But the author of the latest work on Zorrilla, Narciso Alonso Cortés,<sup>3</sup> states in a footnote that the dramatist evidently made a slip of the pen in referring to this *refundición* as having been made by Solís, when he clearly meant Zamora. Thomas A. FitzGerald, writing in *Hispania* for February, 1922, is of the opinion that no such *refundición* was ever made by Dionisio Solís (born 1774). He believes that Zorrilla must have had in mind Antonio de Solís (1610–1686). Chronologically, of course, it is next to impossible that Antonio de Solís reworked Zamora's play, and in fact Mr. FitzGerald finds no evidence that he was ever even credited with having done so. Fitz-

<sup>1</sup> The full title, as given in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. 2, is *No hay plazo que no se cumpla, ni deuda que no se pague, y convidado de piedra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1882–83, frequently cited; cf. I, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Zorrilla*, 3 vols., Valladolid, 1916–20; cf. I, p. 405, note 2.

maurice-Kelly, in his latest edition of the *History of Spanish Literature*, hints at such a *refundición*, but adduces no evidence. Cotarelo y Mori, in his book on Isidoro Máiquez (p. 205, note), refers to a *refundición* in five acts of Zamora's play; however, not only does he not state by whom it was made, but he even says in another passage: "Antes del *Don Juan Tenorio*, de Zorrilla, éste de Zamora era el que se representaba en nuestros teatros."

Writing again under date of February 22, 1923, Señor Cotarelo says:<sup>4</sup>

"Efectivamente hay una refundición en cinco actos de la comedia de Zamora, *No hay plazo que no se cumpla*, etc.; pero esta refundición es anónima. Existen dos ejemplares manuscritos en la Biblioteca Municipal de esta Corte: uno de 1821 y otro de 1836. No creo que se haya impreso nunca."

"En cuanto a la atribución a Solís, que hace el Sr. Kelly, supongo que será por boca de Zorrilla; y de éste hay que hacer muy poco caso. Recuerde Vd. que en sus *Recuerdos*, atribuye el primer *Burlador de Sevilla* a Moreto, a quien, por contera, hace fraile.<sup>5</sup> Puede ser de Solís la refundición de la obra de Zamora, que refundió otras piezas del siglo XVII, pero no consta. . . ."

"La comedia de Zamora se representaba con frecuencia hasta 1844 en que se estrenó la de Zorrilla,<sup>6</sup> y aun siguió repitiéndose algunas veces después, aunque fué poco a poco eclipsándose hasta desaparecer. La de Zorrilla, aunque no fué mal recibida, no tuvo el éxito estrepitoso que logró más tarde."

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Dr. H. C. Heaton of New York University for very kindly including in a personal correspondence with Señor Cotarelo an inquiry concerning this question.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. FitzGerald (see article referred to above) thinks that Alonso Cortés (*op. cit.*, I, p. 405, note 1) has misinterpreted the passage in Zorrilla's *Recuerdos*. He believes that Zorrilla did not intend to attribute the *Burlador de Sevilla* to Moreto. Señor Cotarelo evidently interprets Zorrilla's statement in the same way as Alonso Cortés.

<sup>6</sup> In his "Traductores castellanos de Molière," in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, Vol. I, p. 139, Cotarelo says: "En el pasado año de 1897, el conocido poeta D. Jacinto Benavente tradujo el *Don Juan* de Molière, con objeto de que fuese representado en uno de los teatros de esta corte en los mismos días del mes de noviembre en que por costumbre ya antigua viene poniéndose en escena el *Don Juan Tenorio*, de Zorrilla, así como antes se ponía el de Zamora, que lleva por título *No hay plazo que no se cumpla ni deuda que no se pague*." Cf. further the passage from the *examen* printed in the Ortega edition (1832) of this latter play, on p. 308 of this article; also, Alonso Cortés, *Zorrilla*, I, pp. 418-19, footnote, quoting Milá y Fontanals.



From the evidence at hand it appears (1) that, in spite of Zorrilla's own mention of a "mala refundición de Solís" as one of the sources of his inspiration, it was probably,<sup>7</sup> as Alonso Cortés and others have pointed out, Zamora's play that he had in mind—the only one known, in print, bearing the long title which Zorrilla himself quotes; and (2) that Zamora's play was popular and was frequently acted as late as the early '40's. Consequently, Zorrilla must have known the play, if not in the printed text, at least from having seen it performed, and probably more than once.

Under these circumstances is it reasonable to suppose that Zamora's *comedia* did not influence to a considerable degree Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*? He himself assures us of its influence, if we accept the statement of Alonso Cortés, that Zorrilla meant "Zamora" when he wrote "Solís." And yet, histories of Spanish literature, in general, and critics of Zorrilla, in particular, seem very little inclined to credit the play of Zamora with having exerted much, if any, influence on the *Don Juan Tenorio* of Zorrilla.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in the English edition of his work on Spanish literature (New York, 1906, p. 373), does not mention Zorrilla's sources; in the French edition (2d ed., Paris, 1913, p. 416), he says: "*Don Juan Tenorio* (1844)—dont les sources sont *Don Juan de Marana, ou La chute d'un ange* (1836) de Dumas père et *Les Ames du Purgatoire* (1825) (*sic*) de Prosper Mérimée"; in the Spanish edition (2d ed., Madrid, 1916, p. 305): "y como *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844), las fuentes del cual son *Les Ames du Purgatoire* (1825) (*sic*) de Próspero Mérimée (1803-1870) y *Don Juan de Marana ou La chute d'un ange* de Dumas padre (1802?-1870)"; and finally, in the latest Spanish edition (3d ed., Madrid, 1921, p. 312):

"y como *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844), las fuentes del cual son *Les Ames du Purgatoire* (1825) (*sic*) de Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870), *Don Juan de Marana ou La chute d'un ange* (1836) de Dumas el padre, y la conocida comedia de Zamora: *No hay*

<sup>7</sup> Before this can be affirmed, the anonymous "refundición en cinco actos" mentioned by Cotarelo above must be studied with a view to determining, first, whether it was written by Solís (Antonio or Dionisio?), and secondly, whether it shows any great resemblance to Zorrilla's work.

*deuda que no se pague, y Convidado de piedra*, refundida por Dionisio Solís."

From this last, it is evident that Fitzmaurice-Kelly had modified his views somewhat since the publication of the previous editions, and since he wrote, for the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 8, p. 416): "It is in fact little more than an adaptation of the elder Dumas' *Don Juan de Marana*, which, in its turn, derives chiefly from Mérimée's novel, *Les Ames du Purgatoire*."

Mérimée, in his *Précis d'histoire de la Littérature espagnole* (Paris, 1908, p. 429), says: "cette refonte du *Burlador* de Tirso, inspirée plus directement du *Don Juan de Marana* d'Alexandre Dumas, . . ."

Francisco Pi y Margall, in a short essay entitled *Observaciones sobre el carácter de D. Juan Tenorio*, published as part of the introduction to *Comedias de Tirso de Molina y Guillén de Castro* (Madrid, 1878), says:

"Nuestro distinguido y brillante poeta Don José Zorrilla ha escrito también su D. Juan Tenorio, uno de sus más aplaudidos dramas. A no conocerlo, creerían difícilmente mis lectores que hubiese ido a calcarlo sobre el de Dumas, no careciendo de originalidad y teniendo en España mejor pauta y guía. Es verdad que ha corregido algunas faltas del que tomó por modelo; . . . Por suyo y exclusivamente suyo tengo lo más capital del drama."

Enrique Piñeyro, in his *Romanticismo en España* (pp. 189-191), emphasizes the resemblance between Zorrilla's and Dumas' plays.

Cejador y Frauca (Vol. 7, p. 234) agrees that the sources are Dumas and Mérimée.

Alonso Cortés (*Zorrilla*, I, pp. 406-8), before giving his opinions about Zorrilla's sources, goes far in belittling Zamora's influence on the Spanish romanticist. He says:

"Nadie diría, en verdad, que la comedia de Zamora, abiertamente mala, pudo servir de guía a Zorrilla para su *Don Juan*. Ni el plan de la obra, ni su desarrollo, ni la trama de los episodios culminantes, guardan la menor semejanza entre una y otra. En *La mejor razón la espada* se había limitado a abreviar *Las travesuras de Pantloja*, copiando los propios versos de Moreto;

en el *Don Juan Tenorio* solamente conservó de Zamora el nombre de los personajes principales (D. Juan y D. Diego Tenorio, D. Gonzalo de Ulloa), y el carácter del protagonista, que necesariamente había de permanecer invariable."

Then, after admitting Zamora's *comedia* as the probable initial inspiration, he proceeds to enumerate, like his predecessors just mentioned, the French sources—Mérimée, Blaze de Bury and Dumas.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, Hurtado and Palencia<sup>9</sup> accept without question Alonso Cortés' statements regarding Zorrilla's use of Zamora and the three French sources.

This repeated insistence upon the French sources of Zorrilla's work seems to me somewhat excessive, if not positively unjustifiable. On the other hand, prejudice against Zamora's version of the Don Juan story seems to have had the effect of preventing the eighteenth century dramatist's influence upon Zorrilla from being appreciated to its possible full value. To point out Zorrilla's indebtedness to Zamora is therefore the principal object of the present brief study.

Zorrilla's play is available in numerous editions, and is so well known to students of Spanish literature that no bibliographical statement regarding it seems necessary.

The *comedia* of Zamora, however, is not so well known, relatively little attention having been paid to the eighteenth century of Spanish literature. The earliest known edition is that of 1744: *Comedias de don Antonio de Zamora*, tomo segundo, Madrid, 1744.<sup>10</sup> The following editions may be found at the New York Public Library:

*A. Comedia nueva. / No hay deuda que no se pague / y convidado de piedra. / De Don Antonio Zamora. / A suelta* of 40 pp., without date, or place (apparently unknown to Barrera, who makes no mention of a *suelta* of this play). Library catalogue says: "(Barcelona, 1870?)".

<sup>8</sup> But he practically negatives all this by adding (p. 408): "Pero ¿qué importa que utilizase esas ú otras circunstancias si al transfundirlas creó una obra nueva, en que revivía con inusitada verdad y bríos renovados el tipo legendario de don Juan? Innumerables veces ha comparecido en el libro y en la escena el aventurero galán español; . . ."

<sup>9</sup> *Historia de la literatura española*, 2d ed., Madrid, 1925, p. 923.

<sup>10</sup> Barrera: *Catálogo del Teatro antiguo español*, p. 505.

B. *Comedias escojidas* / de Don Antonio de Zamora / Tomo único. / — / Con licencia: / — / Imprenta de Ortega: Madrid, Febrero de 1832. / pp. 149-305: *No hay plazo que no se cumpla / ni deuda que no se pague.* / *El convidado / de piedra.* / Followed by an interesting five page *examen* (by ?), containing the following judgment: "Este drama ha quedado aun entre aquellos que se ponen frecuentemente en escena y atraen el concurso del pueblo a pesar de las declaraciones filosóficas y eruditas de los que fundan todo el mérito dramático en la observación de las unidades, aunque no puedan producir obras que como en las de Molière, el estilo y la profundidad de los pensamientos, supla la falta de interés que lleva en sí misma una acción sencilla y sin intrigo."

C. *Dramáticos posteriores a Lope de Vega . . .* por Don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos. Tomo Segundo. (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, tomo 49) pp. 411— *Comedia famosa / titulada / no hay plazo que no se cumpla*, etc.<sup>11</sup>

Zamora's *comedia* being less known than Zorrilla's play, a full analysis of it would be useful here; but space will not permit. The reader will find it most readily accessible in the last mentioned edition, or he may read a brief outline of it in Gendarme de Béville's *La Légende de Don Juan* (Paris, 1911), Vol. I, pp. 161-4.

A careful study and comparison of Zamora's play and Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* reveals a number of points of resemblance, aside from those which are common to the legend and whose obvious source is the *Burlador de Sevilla*. There is, to be sure, relatively little textual similarity; but, on the other hand, there is a common atmosphere in many situations and incidents:

1. Zamora's play opens with a noisy student demonstration. Don Juan and his servant, Camacho, are strolling along a street of Seville, to which city Don Juan has just returned from Naples. He interrupts Camacho's scolding to inquire about the hubbub in an adjoining street. After being reminded that it is the season for student celebrations, he snaps back at Camacho (*B.A.E.*, p. 412, Col. 1):

"Buen remedio;  
Despojadlos a estocadas."

In Zorrilla's opening lines, Don Juan, seated in an inn, is

<sup>11</sup> In the discussion that follows, I shall refer to this volume, using the letters *B.A.E.* with page and column, as the scenes are not numbered.

penning a letter to Doña Inés. It is carnival season, and the noise of the mob outside the inn irritates him (Act I, Sc. 1):

"¡Cuál gritan esos malditos!  
¡Pero mal rayo me parta  
Si, en concluyendo la carta  
No pagan caros sus gritos!"

In both plays, Don Juan later rushes into the street and puts the mob to rout. The atmosphere of the opening scene in each is thus seen to be strikingly similar.

2. Zamora uses Camacho, the *gracioso*, to effect an immediate revelation of the character and past deeds of Don Juan. While Zorrilla gives us a much more vivid background, by means of a public wager between Don Juan Tenorio and Luis Mejía, nevertheless Ciutti, Italian servant to Don Juan, likewise sheds some light on the character of his master, in his warning to the innkeeper (Act I, Sc. 1):

"Ciutti: ¡Chist! Habla un poco más bajo,  
Que mi señor se impacienta  
Pronto.

Buttarelli: ¿A su servicio estás?

Ciutti: Ya ha un año.

Buttarelli: ¿Y qué tal te sale?

Ciutti: No hay prior que se me iguale;  
Tengo cuanto quiero, y más.  
Tiempo libre, bolsa llena,  
Buenas mozas y buen vino."

And so all through the scene.

3. A point of resemblance which occurs again and again throughout both pieces is Don Juan's free use of money in the bribing of servants and others. In the *comedia* of Zamora, he tells Camacho that he should blame the maid of Filiberto's lady, for (*B.A.E.*, p. 411, Col. 3)

"... en fe de unas medallas  
De oro, todo ese secreto  
Me reveló una criada,  
Quéjese a ella, pues fué ella  
Quien me guardó las espaldas."

Filiberto confirms the statement, in his complaint to the King of Castile (*B.A.E.*, p. 415, Col. 1):

"¡Ah cielos!  
¡Qué mal puede la ignorancia  
Cerrar el camino al riesgo,  
Si desprevenido el daño,  
Y desarmado el recelo,  
El primer aviso que hay  
Del despeño es el despeño!  
Dígalo el ver que granjeando  
A una criada el vil cebo  
Del interés, con mis señas  
Entrase una noche dentro  
Del jardín, donde, valido  
De mi tardanza, fingiendo  
Voz y acciones, a la amante  
Porfía de sus esfuerzos,  
Lo que yo no pude amando,  
Supo él conseguir mintiendo."

There is evidence of Don Juan's generous hand in the parting words of the *alguaciles*, when Filiberto dismisses them, after taking Don Juan from the prison by authority of the King. Tenorio's gold has evidently won their good will (*Jornada II*, p. 421, Col. 1):

"*Alguacil 2º*:           No nos despedimos  
                              Sin hablarle.  
*Los dos*:                Vea usía  
                              Señor, si nos manda algo.  
*Don Juan*:           Dios os guarde.  
*Alguacil 1º*: (Ap.)       En este hombre  
                              Es de alabar el agrado."

This is the Don Juan who bribes the warden (*Zorrilla*, Act II, Sc. V.) to release him in time to win his wager; who tells Brígida (Act II, Sc. IX):

"Y si acierto  
A robar tan gran tesoro,  
Te he de hacer pesar en oro."



Again (Act II, Sc. XI), Don Juan is addressing Lucía, the maid of Doña Ana de Ulloa:

"Lucía: ¿Qué haré si os he de servir?  
 Don Juan: Abrir.  
 Lucía: ¡Bah! y ¿quién abre este castillo?  
 Don Juan: Este Bolsillo.  
 Lucía: ¡Oro!  
 Don Juan: Pronto te dió el brillo.  
 Lucía: ¡Cuánto!  
 Don Juan: De cien doblas pasa.  
 Lucía: ¡Jesús!  
 Don Juan: Cuenta y di; esta casa  
 ¿podrá abrir ese bolsillo?"

In the first line of the following scene he tells Ciutti:

"Con oro nada hay que falle."

And finally (Part II, Act I, Sc. II) he bribes the sculptor to permit him to enter the pantheon, which his father had ordered built with the son's inheritance, in order to pay homage to the latter's victims.

4. Wholesale murder is first made a characteristic of Tenorio in the play of Zamora. Don Juan, the *Burlador de Sevilla*, is not a murderer: he kills Don Gonzalo (Jornada II, Sc. XV) only when forced to do so to make good his escape from the latter's home. According to Camacho, however (*B.A.E.*, p. 412, Col. 1), there had been

"... dos o tres muertes  
 Sin motivo,"

even before Don Juan left Seville for Naples. The killings are of small moment, even to Camacho, and Don Juan has long since dismissed them from his mind; but these and many others are very real to Camacho on that awful night when Don Juan is forcing him to enter the church to keep the tryst with the ghost of Don Gonzalo (*B.A.E.*, p. 432, Col. 3):

"Don Juan: Anda, o por vida de . . .  
 Camacho: Así  
 Te salve Dios, que repares

Que esto es tentar a Dios; mira  
 Las muchas atrocidades  
 Que has hecho, y que quizás es este  
 Camino de que las pagues;  
 Mira cuántas pesadumbres  
 Cuestas a tu triste padre:  
 Mira que cuando de un duelo  
 Tan airosamente sales,  
 El cielo a truenos te dice,  
 Pues le ofendes, que le aplaques.  
 Y mira. . . ." (Truena).

Camacho's groping hands find the doors securely bolted. He is greatly relieved, but before he can turn away, the doors slowly swing back; and, as the lightning flashes, he sees

" . . . más de treinta muertos  
 Con birretes. . . ."

In Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, we are presented with a definite schedule of the murders committed by Don Juan (Act I, Sc. XII), thirty-two in number, done for the sole purpose of winning the wager made with Don Luis Mejía; the list is considerably longer before the close of the play.

5. A most striking correspondence exists between the two pieces in the matter of the violation of the sanctity of the convent. In Zamora (*B.A.E.*, p. 412, Col. 1) we have from the ironical "gracioso":

"Camacho:	Cuando
	Desamparaste la patria
	En fe de unas travesuras,
	(Muchas, pero muy honradas,
	Pues fueron dos o tres muertes
	Sin motivo, y otras tantas
	Clausuras rotas, por solo
	Un quitame allá esas pajas) . . ."

Let us compare this with Don Juan's account of his exploits in Naples (Zorrilla, Act I, Sc. XIII):

"Por donde quiera que fui  
 La razón atropellé

La virtud escarneí  
 A la justicia burlé,  
 Y a las mujeres vendí.  
 Yo a las cabañas bajé,  
 Yo a las palacios subí.  
 Yo los *claustrós* escalé,  
 Y en todas partes dejé  
 Memoria amarga de mí.  
 Ni reconocí sagrado,  
 Ni hubo razón ni lugar  
 Por mi audacia respetado;  
 Ni en distinguir me he parado  
 Al clérigo del seglar."

Mejía, astounded at Don Juan's recital, exclaims:

"Don Luis: Solo una os falta en justicia.

Don Juan: ¿Me la podéis señalar?

Don Luis: Sí, por cierto, *una novicia*  
*Que esté para profesar.*

Don Juan: ¡Bah! Pues yo os complaceré  
 Doblemente, porque os digo  
 Que a la novicia uniré  
 La dama de algún amigo  
 Que para casarse esté."

6. So also is there a very definite parallel in the betrothal of Don Juan and the daughter of the Comendador de Calatrava (in Zamora, Doña Ana de Ulloa; in Zorrilla, Doña Inés de Ulloa). In each play it is the affair of the parents concerned, and not that of the King as in the *Burlador de Sevilla*. In each play, the contract is discharged by mutual agreement of the parents, after the awful deeds of the suitor have been brought to light. Zamora (*B.A.E.*, p. 416, Col. 1):

"Don Gonzalo:

Ya que

De esta acción, señor don Diego  
 Me hizo testigo el acaso,  
 Solo que deciros tengo,  
 Que el conferido tratado  
 Que teníamos dispuesto,  
 A fin que nuestra amistad  
 Pasase a ser parentesco.  
 Cesó desde hoy; . . ."

Zorrilla (Act I, Sc. XII):

"Don Diego: No; los hijos como tú  
Son hijos de Satanás.  
Comendador, nulo sea  
Lo hablado.

Don Gonzalo: Ya lo es por mi; . . ."

7. There is an interesting parallel in the attitude of the father on first learning of the infamy of the son. In Tirso, Don Diego at once accepts as conclusive the evidence offered in a letter from his brother, ambassador to Naples (*El Burlador de Sevilla*: Jornada II, Sc. I):

"Rey: ¿Qué me dices?

Don Diego: Señor, la verdad digo.  
Por esta carta estoy del caso cierto,  
que es de tu Embajador y de mi hermano.  
Halláronle en la cuadra del Rey mismo  
con una hermosa dama de palacio."

In the two pieces under consideration, Don Diego is very reluctant to believe the guilt of his son. Referring again to the formal accusation and complaint of Filiberto before the King of Castile, with Don Diego present, the latter says (*B.A.E.*, p. 415, Col. 3):

"Arrogante forastero,  
Cuya pasión, en la voz  
Descubre el fondo del pecho,  
Don Juan Tenorio es mi hijo;  
Y siéndolo, es argumento  
De que en él caber no pudo  
El desalumbrado exceso  
Que le acumulais; y en suma,  
Agradeced el respeto  
Del Rey, que no de otra forma  
Os diga . . ."

The father continues to defend the son, even after the latter makes a most shameless confession.

In Zorrilla, likewise, Don Diego is extremely loath to believe the rumors that have been circulating concerning Don Juan (Act I, Sc. XII):

"¡Ah! . . . No pudiendo creer  
Lo que de ti me decían  
Confiando en que mentían  
Te vine esta noche a ver."

It is only after the evidence, coming from the lips of Don Juan himself, becomes too compelling that the son is definitely renounced.

8. Not only is there an identical attitude on the part of the father toward the son in the two plays, but of the son toward the father—an attitude of unrestrained defiance. In *Zamora* (*B.A.E.*, p. 418, Col. 3), Don Juan is fighting Filiberto. Don Diego attempts to intervene:

*Don Diego:* Tente, don Juan; Filiberto,  
Aguardad.

*Don Juan:* Si no deseas  
Que, despechada mi rabia,  
Atropelle tu prudencia,  
Quítate de en medio.

*Don Diego:* ¿Cómo,  
Bárbaro, cuando lo ruega  
Un padre, no te detienes?

*Don Juan:* Como en ocasión como esta,  
No es el respeto más que  
Máscara de la flaqueza."

In *Zorrilla* (Act I, Sc. II), Don Juan answers his father thus:

"Largo el plazo me ponéis,  
Más ved que os quiero advertir  
Que yo no os he ido a pedir  
Jamás que me perdonéis.  
Conque no paséis afán  
De aquí adelante por mí,  
Que como vivió hasta aquí,  
Vivirá siempre Don Juan."

9. Another distinctive trait of *Zamora's* Don Juan is the true love he bears Doña Ana (*B.A.E.*, p. 421, Col. 3):

"¿Amor, cómo a un mismo tiempo  
La aborrezco y la idolatro?"

A few lines farther on he asks:

"Ay Doña Ana, ¿quién creyera  
Que a quien ni un solo cuidado  
Costaste como marido,  
Cuestes como galán tantos?"

Again (*B.A.E.*, p. 425, Col. 2) he exclaims:

"¡Ay Doña Ana, que no puedo  
Ni olvidarte ni quererte!"

And finally (*B.A.E.*, p. 427, Col. 3):

"¿No sabes  
Cuán postrado, cuán rendido  
Amo a Doña Ana de Ulloa?"

So, in Zorrilla, there is no doubt of Don Juan's sincerity when (Act IV, Sc. III) he addresses Doña Inés:

"¡Alma mía! esa palabra  
Cambia de modo mi ser,  
Que alcanzo que puede hacer  
Hasta que el Edén se me abra.  
No es, Doña Inés, Satanás  
Quien pone este amor en mí;  
Es Dios, que quiere por ti  
Ganarme para El quizás.  
No; el amor que hoy se atesora  
En mi corazón mortal,  
No es un amor terrenal  
Como el que sentí hasta ahora;  
No es esa chispa fugaz  
Que cualquier ráfaga apaga;  
Es incendio que se traga  
Cuanto ve, inmenso, voraz."

In addition to the foregoing, a number of minor analogies may be cited:

1. In Zamora (*B.A.E.*, p. 422, Col. 1) Don Diego calls his son "humano monstruo." In Zorrilla (Act I, Sc. XII) Don Diego says: "Sí; vamos de aquí, | Donde tal *monstruo* no vea."

2. In Zamora, Don Juan kills Don Gonzalo only after the latter has refused to heed him (*B.A.E.*, p. 418, Col. 3). In



Zorrilla he pleads earnestly with Don Gonzalo, and kills him only after being repeatedly accused of abject cowardice.

3. Don Juan blames fate (*B.A.E.*, p. 421, Col. 2) for his action in killing Don Gonzalo. So in Zorrilla (Act IV, Sc. X).

4. The miraculous regularity with which fortune seems to favor Don Juan, as well as the character of his deeds, leads those about him to the conclusion that he is the devil incarnate, or at least that he harbors an evil spirit. In Zamora (*B.A.E.*, p. 428, Col. 3) Fresneda says:

"Entré a matarle en su cuarto  
Mas debe (según le he visto  
Invisible) de traer  
Algún demonio consigo."

Don Juan himself admits it (*B.A.E.*, p. 414, Col. 2):

"Don Luis: ¿Quién eres que te resistes  
Tanto?"

Don Juan: El diablo.

Camacho: Y no le engaña."

Don Diego (Zorrilla, Act I, Sc. XII, previously cited) calls Don Juan a son of Satan, and in Act IV, Sc. I, we have an exact parallel. Brígida and Ciutti compare estimates:

"Brígida: Preciso es que tu amo tenga  
Algún diablo familiar.

Ciutti: Yo creo que sea él mismo  
Un diablo en carne mortal."

5. And finally, is there a possibility that Zorrilla has induced Luis Fresneda of Zamora's play to come into his *Don Juan Tenorio* as Luis Mejía? To be sure, Fresneda is exhibited as an ordinary "jácara"—a bully, a thug—but he is well born, absolutely fearless, and in other respects the counterpart of Don Juan, as is Don Luis Mejía in Zorrilla.

In one situation, however, Mejía takes his cue from Filiberto Gonzaga. In Zamora's play (*B.A.E.*, p. 415, Col. 2) the latter pleads to be allowed to fight Don Juan in honorable duel. Let us compare this with Zorrilla (Act IV, Sc. VI):

"Don Luis: .....  
Mas no creo que morir

- Deba nunca un caballero  
 Que lleva en el cinto espada,  
 Como una res destinada  
 Por su dueño al matadero.
- Don Juan:* Ni yo creo que resquicio  
 Habréis jamás encontrado  
 Por donde me hayáis tomado  
 Por un cortador de oficio.
- Don Luis:* De ningún modo, y ya veis  
 Que, pues os vengo a buscar,  
 Mucho en vos debo fiar.
- Don Juan:* No más de lo que podéis.  
 Y por mostraros mejor  
 Mi generosa hidalguía,  
 Decid si aun puedo, Mejía,  
 Satisfacer vuestro honor."

In Zamora (*B.A.E.*, p. 413, Col. 2) it is Filiberto who accuses Don Juan of having run away:

"Añadió la última infamia,  
 Que fué huir; . . ."

In Zorrilla (Act IV, Sc. X) it is Mejía who says:

"Y quien hiere por detrás  
 Y se humilla en la ocasión,  
 Es tan vil como el ladrón  
 Que roba y huye."

This is not an exhaustive list of the points of similarity that exist in the two plays. Nevertheless, enough have been set down, it seems to me, to indicate that there is considerably more to the question of the sources of Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* than has thus far been conceded, and that, even if it be admitted that there was a direct inspiration from Dumas, perhaps full justice has not been done Antonio de Zamora.

JOSEPH W. BARLOW

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## THE INFLUENCE OF EDGAR ALLEN POE IN FRANCE

### I

WHILE it is generally well known that Poe has been and is still very popular in France, the true importance of his influence there perhaps is not fully realized, not only by the majority of the reading public, but also by his most devoted admirers. Up to this date no one has published a systematic survey of that important phase of Poe's literary fame.<sup>1</sup>

The present study aims at making a relatively complete and documented survey of Poe's influence in the most important phases of the literary life of modern France. The method followed herein appears to be a departure from the one generally adopted by the critics dealing more or less directly or indirectly with Poe's influence. They do not think it necessary to prove their assertions.

So many contradictory statements have been made about Poe, so much fiction-like criticism has been written about him, and so many manifest errors have prevailed concerning him, that the writer of this survey has taken nothing for granted but has tried to produce convincing proofs for any claim which was not absolutely evident.

<sup>1</sup> Louis P. Betz, in his *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte der neueren Zeit* (1902), Émile Lauvrière, in his thesis *Edgar Poe, sa vie et son œuvre* (1904), Gunnar Bjurman, in his thesis *Edgar Poe, En Litteraturhistorisk Studie* (1916), Curtis Hidden Page, in his article *Poe in France* (*The Nation*, Jan. 14, 1909), and Camille Mauclair, in his article *Edgar Allen Poe as Inspirer of Ideas*, published in the September, 1923, issue of *The Fortnightly Review*, mention some French imitators of Poe, but their studies are not especially devoted to Poe's influence in France. In his thesis *Edgar Poe et les premiers symbolistes français* (1923), Louis Seylaz draws a parallel study of Poe and only a few French writers. A. Patterson, in his thesis *L'Influence d'E. Poe sur Charles Baudelaire* (1903), and Henri Potez, in his article *Edgar Poe et Jules Verne* (*La Revue*, May 15, 1909), each limits his respective parallel study to Poe and one French author. In his article *Poe's Influence on French Writers*, occupying one fourth of a page of the issue of February 22, 1925, of *The New York Times Book Review*, Paul Souday mentions with little or no comment only four French poets: Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Verlaine, and Paul Valéry.

It is clear that Poe could not find imitators in France before being known there; hence the capital importance as a starting point of knowing the exact date of the first appearance of Poe in France. He was first mentioned in that country in 1845, in the November issue of *La Revue Britannique*, which contained *Le Scarabée d'Or*, signed A. B. Notwithstanding the assertions of Poe himself<sup>2</sup> and of E. Hennequin, J. A. Harrison, G. Bjurman, A. Fontainas and other critics, the *Charivari* never mentioned Poe, and much less published in 1841 a version of *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*. In June, 1846, *La Quotidienne*, and afterwards, in October of the same year, *Le Commerce* published adaptations of *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*. The name of Poe did not figure in those versions. E. D. Forgues, who, under the pseudonym of Old Nick, had written the adaptation published in *Le Commerce*, was accused of plagiarism by *La Presse*. A lawsuit ensued, and the notoriety attached to it placed Poe's name in the limelight. Translations of a few tales of Poe appeared soon in various magazines. The first translation in book-form was published in 1853, and was the work of A. Borghers. Madame Meunier did not publish in 1846—or at any other time—as asserted by Louis Betz, E. Lauvrière, Arvède Barine, H. Matthey, G. Bjurman, André Fontainas, and others, a version in book-form of Poe's works. In 1856 Charles Baudelaire, who had contributed several translations of Poe to various magazines, published the first volume of *Histoires extraordinaires*. Numerous other versions in book-form followed. Lauvrière mentions thirty-four of them up to 1897.<sup>3</sup>

The first critical study of Poe in France was written by E. D. Forgues and published in the issue of October 15, 1846, of *La Revue des Deux Mondes*. It was followed by many more. G. D. Morris mentions forty-seven of them up to 1904.<sup>4</sup> Four university theses have been written in French on Poe: one by A. Patterson in 1903, the second by Lauvrière in 1904, the third by D. Morris in 1912, and the fourth by Seylaz in 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Poe, *Works* (Harrison edition), Vol. XVI, p. 109; Vol. XVII, pp. 275-276.

<sup>3</sup> Lauvrière, *Edgar Poe, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1904, pp. 726-727. Among the most recent French translations of Poe the following may be mentioned: *Lettres d'Amour à Helen*, by Cecil Georges-Bazile (Paris, 1924); and *Politien*, by H. R. Woestyn (Paris, 1926).

<sup>4</sup> G. D. Morris, *Fenimore Cooper et Edgar Poe*, Paris, 1912, pp. 206-208.

These numerous translations and critical studies helped to make Poe known to the French. To know Poe is to admire him, and imitation soon follows admiration. Poe's genius appears as one of the inspiring forces in the moulding and development of the principal literary movements and new genres in modern French literature.

## II

Poe's influence on modern French poetry is a well accepted fact. "It would be too much to say," writes Henri Potez, "that Edgar Poe begat Baudelaire and that Baudelaire begat almost all contemporary poetry; but the statement would contain much truth."<sup>5</sup> Edmund Gosse writes: "Il est bien peu de poètes chez qui la musique du vers ne trahisse pas l'influence d'Edgar Poe."<sup>6</sup> His influence was felt by the Parnassians, the Symbolists, the Decadents, the Vers-librists, and the Neo-classicists.

The theory of art for art's sake, which is the fundamental principle of the Parnassian school, is found in Poe, and the Parnassians borrowed it, at least in part, from him. James A. Harrison,<sup>7</sup> Joseph Bédier and Paul Hazard<sup>8</sup> are among the critics who support this statement. The theories of the Symbolist school also show Poe's inspiration. Among the critics who endorse this claim one may mention Jules Huret who writes: "Ils (the Symbolists) ont subi fortement l'influence de Poe."<sup>9</sup> Poe's theories about natural perversity and his descriptions of grotesque horrors seem to have inspired the Decadents.<sup>10</sup> To use Caroline Ticknor's own words, "Mallarmé's translations of Poe set the pace for the new school from which the exponents of *vers-libre* assuredly derive their inspiration."<sup>11</sup> Seylaz sees

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Alphonso C. Smith in *Edgar Poe, How to Know Him*, Indianapolis, 1921, pp. 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> See A. Fontainas, *La Vie d'Edgar A. Poe*, Paris, 1919, p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> Poe, *Works* (Harrison ed.), Vol. I, p. 238.

<sup>8</sup> J. Bédier et Paul Hazard, *Littérature française illustrée*, Paris, 1924, Vol. II, pp. 261-262.

<sup>9</sup> J. Huret, *Enquête sur l'Évolution littéraire*, Paris, 1913, p. 399.

<sup>10</sup> See *The Nation*, Jan. 14, 1909, p. 32; also John W. Robertson, *Poe, A Study*, p. 359.

<sup>11</sup> Caroline Ticknor, *Poe's Helen*, New York, 1916, p. 276.

traces of Poe's influence in the poetical pronouncement of the Neo-classicists.<sup>12</sup>

His faithful translator, Charles Baudelaire, may rightfully head the list of Poe's spiritual sons. Baudelaire himself acknowledges his indebtedness to Poe in his theories of art and poetry: "Je recours naturellement à l'article intitulé: The Poetic Principle. . . ." <sup>13</sup> An exposition of his poetical theories, all borrowed from Poe, follows this statement.

Poe's inspiration seems evident in the following lines of Baudelaire's sonnet *Le Flambeau vivant*:

"Ils marchent devant moi, ces Yeux pleins de lumières, . . .  
Ils conduisent mes pas dans la route du Beau;  
Ils sont mes serviteurs et je suis leur esclave. . . ."

In *To Helen* Poe had said:

"Only thine eyes remained. . . .  
Lighting my lonely pathway home that night, . . .  
They follow me—they lead me through the years.  
They are my ministers—yet I their slave."

Baudelaire's verse taken from his poem *Causerie*,

"Mon cœur est un palais flétri par la cohue; . . ."

seems inspired by Poe's

"And travellers . . . see  
Through the pale door  
A hideous crowd rush out forever, . . ." (*The Haunted Palace*).

In the following lines taken from one of Baudelaire's poems entitled *Tableaux parisiens* one can see reminiscences of Poe's theories about a continuation of bodily and intellectual life after death:

"Les morts, les pauvres morts ont de grandes douleurs, . . .  
Vieux squelettes gelés travaillés par le ver,  
Ils sentent s'égoutter les neiges de l'hiver  
Et le siècle couler, sans qu'amis ni famille  
Remplacent les lambeaux qui pendent à leur grille."

<sup>12</sup> L. Seylaz, *Edgar Poe et les premiers Symbolistes français*, Lausanne, 1923, p. 178.

<sup>13</sup> Poe, *Nouvelles Histoires extraordinaires*, traduction de Ch. Baudelaire, Paris, 1922, p. xix.



Poe had said in *The Spirits of the Dead*:

"Thy soul shall find itself alone  
'Mid dark thoughts of the gray tombstone—  
Not one, of all the crowd, to pry  
Into thine hour of secrecy."

Baudelaire borrowed the repetend from Poe.<sup>14</sup> Among other poems of *Les Fleurs du Mal* where they point out Poe's influence, Patterson and Seylaz cite *Correspondances*, *Tout entière*, and *Une Martyre*.<sup>15</sup> Poe's influence on Baudelaire acquires a greater importance from the fact that the latter himself has many followers. Rémy de Gourmont says: "Toute la littérature actuelle, et surtout celle que l'on appelle symboliste est baudelairienne. . . ." <sup>16</sup>

Arthur Rimbaud became acquainted with Poe early in life. The critics who mention him in relation to Poe fail to make clear that even before his acquaintance with Verlaine, Rimbaud had read Poe's works. This is important because it is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of Rimbaud's early manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> Seylaz writes:

"Ce poème (*Bateau ivre*) date précisément de cette fin d'année (1871), et ce n'est pas trahison de supposer que les *Histoires extraordinaires*, dont Rimbaud eut connaissance par Verlaine, ont agi fortement sur cette imagination précoce. . . ." <sup>18</sup>

Speaking of the period between August 1870 and February 1871 Delahaye says: "Dans le même temps que Bouilhet, Daudet, Flaubert, Edgar Poe et cent autres, il (Rimbaud) lit Proudhon." <sup>19</sup> Delahaye writes also: "La veille de son départ—fin septembre 1871—Rimbaud me lit *Bateau ivre*. 'J'ai fait cela, dit-il, pour présenter aux gens de Paris.'" <sup>20</sup> It is only after his arrival at Paris that Rimbaud became acquainted personally

<sup>14</sup> See Paul Verlaine, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1900, Vol. V, pp. 335-336.

<sup>15</sup> A. Patterson, *L'Influence d'E. Poe sur Ch. Baudelaire*, Grenoble, 1903, *passim*; Seylaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-75. See also Betz, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56, and Bjurman, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-338.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by John Charpentier in *Mercure de France*, April 15, 1921, p. 289.

<sup>17</sup> Ernest Delahaye, *Rimbaud*, Paris, 1923, p. 28, footnote 1.

<sup>18</sup> Seylaz, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>19</sup> Delahaye, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

with Verlaine. To use Seylaz' own words "C'est en octobre 1871 que Rimbaud rencontre le poète de la Bonne Chanson."<sup>21</sup> In the same page Seylaz calls *Bateau ivre* "une des plus belles transcriptions poétiques d'Edgar Poe." This transcription supposes that Rimbaud had read Poe, and as the French poet became acquainted with Verlaine after he already had composed *Bateau ivre*, he must have known Poe's works before he met Verlaine. Poe's influence seems evident in some of Rimbaud's poetical theories expressed in his *Alchimie du Verbe* ending with "J'écrivis des silences, des nuits, je notais l'inexprimable. Je fixai des vertiges."<sup>22</sup> His *Sonnet des Voyelles* may show also in some manner Poe's inspiration.<sup>23</sup>

(Stéphane Mallarmé acknowledges indirectly at least Poe's influence) and, in a general way, his indebtedness to Poe when he writes: "Extérieurement, . . . ce livre (his translation of Poe's poems) . . . peut passer pour un monument du goût français au génie qui, à l'égal de nos maîtres les plus chers et les plus vénéérés, exerça chez nous une influence."<sup>24</sup> Seylaz sees Poe's inspiration in Mallarmé's sonnet *Pour votre chère morte*, and in his poem *Brise Marine*.<sup>25</sup> (Mallarmé borrowed from Poe many of his poetical principles.

When a school-boy Paul Verlaine used to hide in his desk books containing stories imitated from Poe. As a young man of twenty-nine he read Poe in the original: "Je l'ai tout lu en *english*. . . ." <sup>26</sup> It suffices to read Verlaine's *Art Poétique* to see there Poe's poetical theories. (Verlaine imitates several of Poe's prosodical arrangements, such as interior rhymes, alliterations, and repetitions.) A few examples may be cited:

"Mais sachant la *vie* et qu'il faut qu'on *plie*, . . . " <sup>27</sup>

"Condition *sine qua non*, cause d'être. . . ." <sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Seylaz, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>22</sup> Rimbaud, *Œuvres*, Paris, n. d., p. 285.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93. See also Seylaz, *op. cit.*, p. 159, and G. L. van Roosbroeck, "Decadence and Rimbaud's Sonnet of the Vowels," *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XVI, 1925, pp. 122-135.

<sup>24</sup> Mallarmé, *Les Poèmes d'Edgar Poe*, Bruxelles, 1888, pp. 150-151.

<sup>25</sup> Seylaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

<sup>26</sup> Verlaine, *Correspondance*, Paris, 1922, Vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>27</sup> *Poèmes saturniens*, "Résignation."

<sup>28</sup> *Œuvres posthumes*, Paris, 1922, Vol. I, p. 113.

"Adieu, cher moi, chagrin et joie . . .!"<sup>28a</sup>

"L'église Saint-Nicolas

Du Chardonnet bat un glas, . . .

Notre Dame de Paris

Nuptiale et sépulcrale

Bourdonne dans le ciel gris."<sup>29</sup>

"Je voudrais que votre Ombre au moins vêtît ma honte,

Mais vous n'avez pas d'ombre, ô Vous dont l'amour monte!"<sup>30</sup>

(Among Verlaine's poems showing traces of Poe's inspiration may be cited especially his sonnet to *Marie Meauté, Pouacre, Sub Urbe*, and *Kaléidoscope*.)

Verlaine wrote a few stories. He himself acknowledges his indebtedness to Poe: "Ce fut aux environs de l'époque où se remuait en moi la manie des vers et de la prose (car je faisais d'étranges nouvelles sous-marines à la façon plutôt, d'Edgar Poe). . . ." <sup>31</sup> His story *Le Poteau* begins: "Edgar Poe me disait un jour, . . . J'en vins à lui raconter une anecdote de ma jeunesse qui n'était pas sans quelques rapports avec les choses dites."<sup>32</sup> In *La Main du Major Muller, L'Abbé Anne, Extrêmes-Onctions*,<sup>33</sup> one finds internal evidence of Poe's influence.

(In many of Maurice Rollinat's poems, which generally lack inspiration, the imitation of Poe is evident.) Albert Samain's front page of *Au Jardin de l'Infante* contains as a motto a few verses of Poe's *To Helen*:

"Was it not Fate, that, on this midnight—. . .

(Ah, bear in mind this garden was enchanted!)"

Likewise Samain's poem *Ermione* seems to betray Poe's inspiration.<sup>34</sup>

Viélé-Griffin's poems *Un Oiseau chantait, Au Seuil* (in *Les Cygnes*), and *Heure mystique* are mentioned by Bjurman as showing traces of Poe's influence.<sup>34a</sup>

<sup>28a</sup> *Ibid.*, "Épilogue."

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, *Clochi-Clocha*, p. 104.

<sup>30</sup> *Œuvres complètes*, 1923-1926, "Sagesse IV," Vol. I, p. 237.

<sup>31</sup> *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1900-1920, Vol. V, p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 155.

<sup>33</sup> *Œuvres posthumes*, Paris, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 345-381.

<sup>34</sup> G. Bjurman, *Edgar Allen Poe, En Litteraturhistorik Studie*, Lund, 1916, pp. 346-347.

<sup>34a</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 356, 364.

Paul Valéry, who wrote *Au Sujet d'Eureka*, shows Poe's inspiration in his poems *Charmes* and *La Jeune Parque*.<sup>35</sup>

Among other French poets who are occasionally indebted to Poe can be named Jean Rameau, Théophile Ducasse (Comte de Lautréamont), Jules Laforgue, Francis Jammes, Charles Van Lerberghe, Adolphe Retté, George Rodenbach, and Max Jacob.<sup>36</sup> Max Jacob says: "Je me rapproche du cubisme."<sup>37</sup> Through him, it seems, Poe's influence reached in some manner the Cubists.

### III

Poe is generally recognized as the father of the modern short story. Speaking of French writers Page states: "Others have imitated Poe better than Baudelaire, in almost every class of short story. . . ." <sup>37a</sup>

Among the various divisions of stories or novels, for the sake of clearness, the following may be adopted in this study: Fantastic Stories, Pseudo-Scientific Stories, and Detective Stories.<sup>38</sup>

As early as 1856 Charles Barbara in his *Histoires émouvantes*, and afterwards in *Les Jumeaux* betrays some inspiration of Poe's *William Wilson*.<sup>39</sup> Gustave Kahn says of Barbara: "Il n'était pas insensible à l'influence de Poe."<sup>40</sup> *L'Arbre Noir* of Hippolyte Babou shows also traces of Poe's inspiration.<sup>41</sup> In their *Journal* (Sept. 18, 1868; Oct. 4, 1890) the Goncourt brothers note several fantastic stories written "à la manière d'Edgar Poe." In his *La Double Vie* published in 1858, Charles Asselineau betrays some indebtedness to Poe. On page 173, for instance, he writes: "Qui ne se rappelle certains personnages entrevus et

<sup>35</sup> See Maurice Martin du Gard, *Impertinences*, Paris, 1924, p. 149. See also *New York Times Book Review*, Feb. 22, 1925, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> See Betz, *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 77, 78, 80; Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, p. 445; Ad. Van Bever et Paul Léautaud, *Poètes d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1924, Vol. II, pp. 280-281; and Frédéric Lefèvre, *Une heure avec . . . deuxième série*, Paris, 1924, p. 162.

<sup>37</sup> Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>37a</sup> *The Nation*, Jan. 14, 1909, p. 34.

<sup>38</sup> This division of the various phases of Poe's influence on modern French fiction does not seem to have been adopted before.

<sup>39</sup> See Seylaz, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>40</sup> G. Kahn, *Charles Baudelaire*, Paris, 1925, p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> Seylaz, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

retrouvés à de longs intervalles . . . ? certaines aventures interrompues par le réveil . . . ?" <sup>41a</sup>

(With Villiers de l'Isle-Adam Poe's influence acquires a greater significance. Early in life Villiers became acquainted with Poe's works.) He even used to recite from memory *The Raven*, and long tales of Poe. Villiers' biographer, Rougemont, says of him: "Les influences qu'il ressentit avec le plus de durée et de force demeurent celles de Wagner, Poe, Hegel, . . . ." <sup>42</sup> Several stories of Villiers show internal evidence of Poe's inspiration. His *La Torture par l'Espérance* begins with: "Oh! une voix pour crier! . . . EDGAR POE (*Le Puits et le Pendule*)."<sup>43</sup> After such an opening one cannot be surprised to find evident analogies between some parts of the French author's story and Poe's *The Pit and the Pendulum*. *Deux Augures* with its motto: "Surtout, pas de génie! (*Devise moderne*)."<sup>44</sup> seems to be inspired, at least in part, from Poe's *How to Write a Blackwood Article*. Villiers, like Poe, is convinced that the periodicals generally read are "characterized less by depth than buffoonery," and that newspaper editors do not want to hire geniuses to write articles, but are looking for mediocrities, and have "pet baboons"<sup>45</sup> at their service to attend to the intellectual side of composing. In Villiers' *Claire Lenoir* are such passages as these: "Parlerai-je de l'Américain? . . . Mais une chose qui m'a frappé c'est le titre de ses œuvres. Il les appelait avec une certaine suffisance: *Histoires sans pareilles! Contes extraordinaires!* . . . etc.—J'ai lu toutes ces histoires. . . ." <sup>46</sup> In *l'Ève future* Villiers makes clear his indebtedness to Poe: "Je doterai cette Ombre . . . de toutes les mysticités passionnées des *Ligéias* d'Edgâr 'Poe,'" (Paris, 1921, p. 103) . . . Chapter IV, Book VI, opens with a long quotation of Morella. Chapter VII, Book V, begins with this motto: "Il est des secrets qui ne veulent pas être dits, EDGAR POE." In *Tribulat Bonhomet* Villiers writes (pp. 112, 115):

<sup>41a</sup> Cf. Poe, *Works*, Harrison ed., Vol. II, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup> E. de Rougemont, *Villiers de l'Isle-Adam*, Paris, 1920, p. 80.

<sup>43</sup> Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, *Nouveaux Contes cruels*, Paris, 1919, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, *Contes cruels*, Paris, 1922, p. 34.

<sup>45</sup> Poe, *Works*, Harrison ed., Vol. II, pp. 271, 273.

<sup>46</sup> Villiers, *Tribulat Bonhomet*, Paris, n. d., p. 110.

"Je me bornai donc à deviser du député et du conteur américain (Poe). . . . Mais lorsque j'eus précisé le *sujet*— . . . — et le *titre* de quelques-uns des 'contes sans pareils' . . . , elle tressaillit! . . . Et le monde . . . n'a fait que se rendre justice à lui-même et se vouer à la MORT, le jour où il s'est écrié: 'Malheur à ceux qui rêvent!'"

Poe's influence is evident in several stories contained in Villiers' collections *Contes cruels*, *Nouveaux Contes cruels*, and *Derniers Contes*. One may cite especially *Véra*, *Le Secret de l'Échafaud*, *Le Duc de Portland*, and *Les Plagiaires de la Foudre*.<sup>47</sup>

Hubert Matthey, Morris, and Page<sup>48</sup> name Maupassant among the authors who felt Poe's influence. As none of the works of Maupassant seem to show any direct evidence of Poe's inspiration, and as the critics named above do not present any proofs that Maupassant knew Poe's works, the following lines taken from Maupassant's preface to G. Mourey's translation of Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* may not lack in interest:

"J'ai rencontré . . . ce poète (Swinburne), . . . il me fit l'effet d'une sorte de Poe idéaliste et sensuel, avec une âme d'écrivain plus exaltée, plus dépravée, plus amoureuse de l'étrange et du monstrueux, plus curieuse, chercheuse et évocatrice des raffinements subtils et anti-naturels de la vie. . . . J'ai pensé, en le regardant pour la première fois, à Edgar Poe."

Thus, Maupassant was well acquainted with Poe. Page states that the Frenchman's "briefer tales, like *Une Apparition*, descend directly from Poe." He adds that Maupassant's "story of the dead Schopenhauer's false teeth might well have been written by Poe himself." However, although *Une Apparition* and some other stories of Maupassant may have striking analogies with some of Poe's tales, the lack of evident traces of outside influence renders it difficult to assert positively whether these resemblances are due to a similar trend of mind, and to the treatment of kindred subjects, or to Poe's inspiration.

Jules Huret, Page, and Legrand-Chabrier<sup>49</sup> are among the

<sup>47</sup> See Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, pp. 647-648, and Seylaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-144.

<sup>48</sup> Matthey, *Essai sur le merveilleux*, Paris, 1915, p. 239; Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 76; and Page, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>49</sup> Huret, *Enquête sur l'Évolution littéraire*, p. 34; *The Nation*, *loc. cit.*, p. 34; *Mercure de France*, Aug. 15, 1920, p. 13.



critics who point out Poe's influence in Maurice Beaubourg's *Contes pour les Assassins*. Beaubourg, like Poe, seems to believe in some kind of "spirit of perverseness"<sup>50</sup> in man. He writes: "Aussitôt, . . . une seconde, . . . l'instinct du crime, . . . le besoin si naturel de voir couler le sang de son prochain, inhérent à chaque individu, . . . me lança une formidable poussée, . . ." <sup>51</sup> In *Le Drame de la route de Trémuth* Beaubourg acknowledges some indebtedness to Poe: "Je viens d'inventer une nouvelle méthode de reportage expérimental recommandée par Edgar Poe, . . . où l'observation, l'induction, la déduction, l'analyse et la synthèse, . . . et les découvertes de la science moderne se tendent la main, . . ." <sup>52</sup>

That Marcel Schwob knew English well is shown by his translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and of Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders*. "Dans l'étude sur Robert Louis Stevenson," writes Lalou, "Schwob indique les devanciers qui ont le plus frappé son imagination: Villon . . . , Shakespeare . . . , Edgar Poe et le crâne cloué sur l'arbre dans le *Gold Bug*. . . ." <sup>53</sup> In Schwob's *Cœur Double* are various passages which seem to betray Poe's inspiration. The following may be cited: "Les uns se jetèrent dans des mysticismes singuliers, . . . les autres poussés par le démon de la perversité, se scarifièrent le cœur, déjà si malade, comme on taquine une dent gâtée . . ." (*Cœur Double*, p. 18). These lines remind one of Poe's *The Imp of the Perverse*, and especially of:

"Yet I am not more sure that my soul lives, than perverseness is one of the primitive impulses of the human heart. . . . It was this unfathomable longing of the soul to *vex itself*— . . . that urged me to continue. . . ." <sup>54</sup>

Henri de Régnier himself acknowledges occasionally his indebtedness to Poe:

"Et à qui ne comprenait pas le geste et l'emblème, Eustase disait: 'Je l'ai trouvé dans le domaine d'Arnheim, Psyché et

<sup>50</sup> Poe, *Works*, Harrison ed., Vol. V, p. 146.

<sup>51</sup> M. Beaubourg, *Contes pour les Assassins*, Paris, 1890, p. 68.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>53</sup> René Lalou, *Histoire de la Littérature française contemporaine*, Paris, 1922, p. 282.

<sup>54</sup> Poe, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 146.

Ulalume le tinrent dans leurs mains merveilleuses:'. . . C'est à cela que s'appliquait aussi ce que disait Eustase, au crépuscule, du domaine d'Arnheim, de Psyché et d'Ulalume . . .!"<sup>55</sup>

Régnier's poem *L'Alérion* has this motto: "Be that word our sign of parting, bird! (*The Raven*)."<sup>55a</sup> Other poems of Régnier, such as *Le Cyprès*, and *Les Visiteuses* betray Poe's inspiration.<sup>56</sup> Likewise several analogies with Poe are found in Régnier's *La Canne de Jaspe*.

In his chapter on Poe in *L'Âme américaine* Jean Richepin writes (p. 209): "Edgar Poe . . . est le seul artiste américain dont l'art ait eu une influence neuve, originale, se répandant sur toute l'humanité, ce qui fait qu'on ne peut s'occuper de littérature . . ., sans parler d'Edgar Poe." Page and Bjurman mention Richepin's *Morts Bizarres* as showing Poe's influence.<sup>57</sup> The following lines, not cited by the critics speaking of Poe's inspiration on the French author, show how, while writing some of his stories, Richepin was at times thinking of Poe's works:

"J'avais cité *l'Homme des Foules d'Edgar Poe*, . . . j'avais essayé de chercher la part de vrai que l'observation avait fournie dans ce conte . . ., et la part d'arrangement qu'avait dû y joindre l'auteur" (*Morts Bizarres*, p. 131). "Il (Seyarc) établit des comparaisons avec Hoffman et Edgar Poe" (*Ibid.*, p. 189).

Joris Karl Huysmans, who demands a prominent place in any record of the Symbolist Movement, mentions Poe very frequently in his epoch-making work *A Rebours* (1884). To use Seylaz' own words "Et c'est Edgar Poe que l'on rencontre tout au long du volume, ce sont ses idées, ses préceptes, ses préférences. C'est à lui que Huysmans rapporte tout, compare tout . . ." (Seylaz, *op. cit.*, p. 173). The main character of *A Rebours*, Des Esseintes—whom Seylaz calls a "réplique parisienne de Roderick Usher" (*op. cit.*, p. 171)—reminds one at times of Usher: "Il y avait des jours où ces lectures le brisaient, des jours où il restait, les mains tremblantes, l'oreille au guet, se sentant, ainsi que le désolant Usher, envahi par une terreur

<sup>55</sup> Henri de Régnier, *La Canne de Jaspe*, Paris, 12e éd., pp. 237, 241.

<sup>55a</sup> *Poèmes*, Paris, 1907, p. 131.

<sup>56</sup> See Bjurman, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

<sup>57</sup> *The Nation*, *loc. cit.*, p. 34; Bjurman, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

irraisonnée, par une frayeur sourde."<sup>58</sup> Frequent mentions of Poe and of Poe's works are found in several parts of *A Rebours*. A few instances may be cited:

"Il (Des Esseintes) se reposait la vue en regardant . . . les jumelles et les cartes éparpillées sur une table au-dessus de laquelle se dressait un seul livre, . . . *les Aventures d'Arthur Gordon Pym*, spécialement tiré pour lui, sur papier vergé." (p. 28) . . . "Il (Des Esseintes) demanda un verre d'amontillado, . . . devant ce vin sec et pâle, les lénitives histoires, les douces malvacées de l'auteur anglais se défeuillèrent et les impitoyables révulsifs, les douloureux rubéfiants d'Edgar Poe, surgirent; le froid cauchemar de la barrique d'amontillado de l'homme muré dans un souterrain l'assaillit" (pp. 177-178. . . . Cf. Poe, *Works*, VI, pp. 167-175). "Il lui fallait arriver au maître de l'Induction, à ce profond et étrange Poe, pour lequel depuis le temps qu'il le relisait sa dilection n'avait pu déchoir" (p. 252). . . . "Il ne se rappelait . . . que quelques séances de musique qui avaient trituré ses nerfs à la façon . . . des plus tourmentés poèmes d'Edgar Poe" (p. 273).

Poe's influence is evident in Théophile Gautier's stories *Spirite*, *l'Avatar*, *le Pied de Momie*.<sup>59</sup> In *Spirite* Gautier seems to acknowledge his indebtedness to Poe:

"Guy de Malibert songeait au *Scarabée d'Or* d'Edgar Poe, et à la sagacité merveilleuse avec laquelle William Legrand parvint à trouver le sens de la lettre en chiffres où le capitaine Kidd désigne d'une façon énigmatique la place précise de la cachette qui renferme ses trésors. Il aurait bien voulu posséder cette intuition profonde qui suppose d'une façon si hardie et si juste, supplée aux lacunes et renoue la trace des rapports interrompus. Mais ici Legrand lui-même, en lui adjoignant Auguste Dupin de la *Lettre volée* et de *l'Assassinat de la Rue Morgue* n'aurait pu humainement deviner la puissance secrète qui avait fait dévier la main de Malivert."<sup>60</sup>

As Gautier occupies an important place<sup>61</sup> in the history of fantastic fiction in France, Poe's influence on him is reflected in his disciples.

<sup>58</sup> J. K. Huysmans, *A Rebours*, Paris, 1923, p. 255.

<sup>59</sup> See J. H. Retinger, *Le Conte fantastique dans le Romantisme français*, Paris, 1909, p. 61; also Bjurman, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

<sup>60</sup> Théophile Gautier, *Spirite*, Paris, 1913, p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> Retinger, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

There are striking analogies between Alain Fournier's principal characters Le Grand Meaulnes and Mademoiselle Galais, in his novel *Le Grand Meaulnes* (Paris, 1913), and some of Poe's characters.

Traces of Poe's influence are found in some of Jean Lorrain's stories such as *Un Crime inconnu*, *L'Impossible Alibi* and *Les Trous du Masque*.<sup>62</sup> Lorrain himself seems to acknowledge Poe's inspiration:

"Fantastique et invisible comme un personnage d'Edgar Poe, le terrible exécuteur des filles est pis qu'inconnu, insoupçonné," . . . .<sup>63</sup> "J'avais aimé cette œuvre ténébreuse . . . , où il y avait, pour moi du moins, comme une atmosphère d'Edgar Poe" (Lorrain, *Histoires de Masques*, Paris, 1900, p. 157).

Among the passages of Octave Mirbeau's *Le Jardin des Supplices* showing Poe's influence one may cite:

"C'est en moi une fantaisie diabolique, une talonnante et inexplicable perversité qui me forcent, tout d'un coup, sans raison apparente, à délaisser les affaires les mieux conduites, . . . . Hélas! le démon de la perversité, qui vient me visiter à la minute décisive où je dois agir, voulut qu'il en fût autrement, . . . . Je me demande parfois . . . si ce n'est point un conte d'Edgar Poe, . . . ." <sup>64</sup>

Through Mirbeau, in some manner, Poe's influence reaches the *Naturalist* school.

Falaise, the principal character of Henry Bordeaux' *Le Fantôme de la Rue Michel-Ange*, is a reader of Poe:

"Pendant que je l'attendais (Falaise) dans son cabinet de travail, je reconnus, rien qu'à l'inspection des ouvrages qui encombraient sa table, qu'il avait l'esprit fêlé. . . . J'y découvris . . . *Avatar* et *Spirite*, . . . les contes d'Edgar Poe, . . . . Il me semblait que j'allais assister à la chute de la maison Usher." <sup>65</sup>

One of the principal characters of Pierre Benoit's novel *Le Lac Salé* goes by the name of Annabel Lee, and has several traits in

<sup>62</sup> See Bjurman, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-380.

<sup>63</sup> Jean Lorrain, *Pelléastres*, Paris, 1908, p. 185.

<sup>64</sup> Octave Mirbeau, *Le Jardin des Supplices*, Paris, 1924, pp. 22, 24, 90.

<sup>65</sup> Henry Bordeaux, *Le Fantôme de la Rue Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1922, pp. 92, 155.

common with Poe's heroines.<sup>66</sup> André David says in his *Rachilde, Homme de Lettres* (Paris, 1924, p. 8): "Maurice Barrès la surnomma autrefois Mademoiselle Baudelaire; n'est-elle pas plutôt Madame Edgar Poe?" David (*op. cit.*, p. 69) sees Poe's inspiration in Rachilde's *La Tour d'Amour*. In his *La Vengeance du Portrait ovale* (Paris, 1922) Gabriel de Lautrec acknowledges in some manner his indebtedness to Poe when he says (p. 19): "Je songeais à ce personnage d'Edgar Poe qui avait perdu son souffle, et à cet autre qui l'avait trouvé." (Cf. title above with Poe's *The Oval Portrait*.)

Other names such as those of J. H. Rosny, whom Matthey calls a "disciple" of Poe, Catulle Mendès in *Le Miroir*, and *La Raison des Fous*, Paul Hervieu in *l'Inconnu*, Gaston Banville in *Contes d'au-delà*, Erckmann-Chatrian in *Contes Fantastiques*, and Paul Féval in some of his novels could be added to those already cited,<sup>67</sup> but those mentioned are sufficient to show the importance of Poe as an inspirer in the field of fantastic fiction writing in France.

#### IV

Poe is considered as the father of the pseudo-scientific novel. Matthey calls him (*op. cit.*, p. 237) "le créateur du merveilleux scientifique." Jules Verne is unquestionably the foremost representative of this literary genre in France. Several of his novels show traces of Poe's inspiration. Among them may be cited *Cinq Semaines en Ballon*, *De la Terre à la Lune*, *Vingt Mille Lieues sous les mers*, *Le Docteur Ox*, *Le Voyage au Centre de la Terre*, and *Aventures du Capitaine Hatteras*.<sup>68</sup> Verne's *Sphinx des Glaces* is like a continuation of Poe's *Narrative of A. Gordon Pym*. The French author dedicates his novel to Poe (Paris, n.d., Vol. I, p. 1):

"A la mémoire d'Edgar Poe,  
A mes amis d'Amérique."

<sup>66</sup> *The Literary Review*, *New York Evening Post*, July 22, 1922, "Poe in France" by Theodore Stanton, p. 830.

<sup>67</sup> See Matthey, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Bjurman, *op. cit.*, p. 378; Betz, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 81; and *The Nation*, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>68</sup> *La Revue*, May 15, 1909, "Edgar Poe et Jules Verne" by Henri Potez, pp. 191-197. See also Bjurman, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

Several of Poe's characters in the *Narrative of A. Gordon Pym* appear in *Le Sphinx des Glaces*. For instance, Dirk Peters comes upon the scene under the name of Hunt, and at the end of Verne's story William Guy, the lost captain of the wrecked ship *Jane*, and some of his companions who have survived, Trinkle, Roberts, and Govin, make their appearance. Moreover, the captain of the *Maldrane*, Len Guy, is a brother of Parker who in Poe's story has been eaten by the starving Augustus, Peters, and captain Pym. Patterson, Pym himself, and even the dog, Tiger, are accounted for. His chapter V (Vol. I, p. 82) has for caption *Le Roman d'Edgar Poe*. Verne gives there a synopsis "du célèbre ouvrage de notre romancier américain, . . . Aventures d'Arthur Gordon Pym." He cites Poe often. Poe's influence on Verne gains more significance from the fact that the latter is the "créateur du roman scientifique et du roman géographique"<sup>69</sup> in France, has been translated in all important languages, and has enjoyed and enjoys still an immense popularity.

## V

Poe is also considered as the father of the detective story. On the other hand, Emile Gaboriau is called the father of the detective novel in France.<sup>70</sup> As Gaboriau followed Poe's footsteps, the honor of introducing the new *genre* reflects from the disciple upon the master. Marius Topin, in *Romanciers Contemporains* (Paris, 1876), states (pp. 324, 325, 327):

"Gaboriau n'est pas le premier créateur du genre que nous allons décrire. . . . Son maître, son générateur est incontestablement Edgar Poe. . . . Nous n'avions jamais douté qu'Edgar Poe n'eût été l'initiateur de . . . l'*Affaire Lerouge*. Récemment, nous avons appris qu'il en a été tellement ainsi que, dans son extrême jeunesse, Gaboriau, saisi d'admiration pour les *Histoires extraordinaires*, avait entrepris d'écrire les *Récits étranges* qui en eussent été sans doute le pâle reflet."

Gaboriau's detective characters Monsieur Lecoq and Tabaret have much in common with Poe's Monsieur Dupin. The French author imitates Poe's close observation and inductive methods:

<sup>69</sup> See Charles Lemire, *Jules Verne*, Paris, 1908, p. 68.

<sup>70</sup> *Larousse Universel*, Paris, 1922, Vol. I, p. 958. See also Ch. Gidel et P. Loillée, *Dictionnaire des Écrivains et des Littérateurs*, Paris, 1898, p. 355.



"Il prouva par A plus B, par une déduction mathématique, . . . qu'il fallait que la dame se fût volée elle-même. . . . —Comment, c'est toi! . . . toi en qui je voyais un successeur et un continuateur de ma méthode d'induction! . . . —Que penses-tu . . . de ma méthode d'induction?" <sup>71</sup>

In Poe one reads such lines as these: "You must have misunderstood the nature of the inductions. . . . Now if, after all, I am wrong in my induction. . . ." <sup>72</sup>

Gaston Leroux seems to have fallen occasionally under Poe's influence as can be inferred from his own words:

"Je ne sache pas que, dans le domaine de la réalité ou de l'imagination, même chez l'auteur du *Double Assassinat, rue Morgue* . . . on puisse retenir quelque chose de comparable, QUANT AU MYSTÈRE, 'au naturel mystère de la Chambre Jaune.' . . . Edgar Poe n'a jamais inventé rien de semblable. . . . Je me trouve plus abject, . . . que ces agents de la Sûreté imaginés par les romanciers modernes, agents qui ont acquis leur méthode dans la lecture d'Edgar Poe. . . ." <sup>73</sup> "Il n'avait jamais lu la *Lettre volée*." <sup>74</sup>

## VI

Poe's genius reached even the French theatre. At least in two of his plays Sardou is indebted to Poe. As early as 1865 Arthur Arnould stated in the *Revue Moderne* <sup>75</sup>: "Nous laisserons de côté la *Lettre volée*, dont tout le monde connaît que M. Victorien Sardou a fait une pièce représentée au théâtre du Gymnase, sous le titre de *Pattes de Mouche*." As in Poe's *The Purloined Letter* an important part of the plot of Sardou's play rests on the concealment of a letter, the hiding of which consists in leaving that letter in plain sight of everybody, so that no one will suspect that it is the document looked for. Poe had said (*Works*, Vol. VI, p. 48): "The more satisfied I became that, to conceal this letter, the Minister had resorted to the comprehensive and sagacious expedient of not attempting to conceal it at all." Sardou writes: "L'homme d'esprit cache si peu

<sup>71</sup> E. Gaboriau, *Monsieur Lecog*, Paris, 2 Vols., n.d.; Vol. I, pp. 188, 192, 201.

<sup>72</sup> Poe, *Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 175, 184.

<sup>73</sup> G. Leroux, *Le Mystère de la Chambre Jaune*, Paris, 1920, Vol. I, pp. 6, 46; Vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>74</sup> G. Leroux, *Le Parfum de la Dame en Noir*, Paris, 1920, 2 Vols., Vol. I, p. 20.

<sup>75</sup> Vol. XXXIV, p. 72.



l'objet, que vous ne vous avisez jamais d'aller le chercher où il est! . . . Et je parierais bien que si nous ne trouvons pas cette . . . lettre, c'est qu'elle nous crève les yeux! . . ." <sup>76</sup> Poe's influence is evident also in Sardou's *La Perle Noire*, which has much in common with *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*.<sup>77</sup> As in Poe's story there is no crime at all in *La Perle Noire*. Instead of a monkey Sardou has a tremendous thunderbolt to cause all the trouble. The mystery is solved through the detective story methods, as introduced by Poe in literature. There is an amateur detective as in Poe's story, and Cornelius who plays that part resembles very much Poe's Monsieur Dupin. On the other hand Tricamp who fills the offices of detective and burgomaster at the same time has also several points in common with Monsieur Dupin. Speaking of the search for the criminal Tricamp says: "Cela va nous occuper, nous distraire" (*La Perle Noire*, p. 48)! Dupin had said: "An inquiry will afford us amusement" (Poe, *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 167). Tricamp says (p. 56): "Par la seule force de l'induction et de la logique, je vais savoir qui tu es, d'où tu viens, où tu vas . . .!" Dupin had said: "I do not hesitate to say that legitimate deductions . . . are in themselves sufficient to engender a suspicion." (Poe, *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 172) . . . "I proceeded to think thus —à posteriori." (*Ibid.*, p. 174.) "Now, if . . . I am wrong in my induction from this ribbon," (*Ibid.*, p. 184). . . .

In 1889 Ernest Laumann presented *Le Cœur révélateur*, an adaptation of Poe's *Tell-Tale Heart* translated by Baudelaire. In 1903 Poe's tale *The System of Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether*, dramatized by André de Lorde,<sup>78</sup> was played for the first time at the *Théâtre du Grand-Guignol*.

Poe's influence on the French theatre is not confined to two plays by Sardou and a few adaptations. It reached also Maurice Maeterlinck. Speaking of Poe's thought Camille Mauclair in *The Fortnightly Review*, Sept., 1923, states (p. 485): "We find

<sup>76</sup> *Les Pattes de Mouche*, Boston, 1911, p. 58.

<sup>77</sup> Victorien Sardou, *La Perle Noire*, edited by Kenneth McKenzie, New York, London, 1924, see pp. x, xi. McKenzie points out Poe's influence in *La Perle Noire*, but neither McKenzie nor any other critic has made parallel quotations of Poe and Sardou in reference to this play.

<sup>78</sup> Lorde, André de, *Le Système du Docteur Goudron et du Professeur Plume*, Drame en un acte d'après E. Poe, Paris, n.d.

in it the origin of the dramatic system of Mæterlinck." Bjurman (*op. cit.*, p. 370) names *Les Sept Princesses*, *La Mort de Tintagiles*, and *Joyzelle* as having analogies with some of Poe's stories. Mæterlinck himself, pointing out his preferences, says: "Oui, Edgar Poe: ses *Poèmes* surtout, et, dans ses *Contes*: *La Chute de la Maison Usher*." <sup>79</sup> The same atmosphere of madness, terror and mystery that prevails in Poe's tales is present also in many of Mæterlinck's plays. The critics who have mentioned Poe's influence on Sardou and Mæterlinck have done so without any special reference to the French theatre in general. It may be said that through Sardou and Mæterlinck Poe's inspiration reached many other French playwrights.

Other French followers of Poe could be named, but the number and the literary accomplishments of those mentioned already suffice to show the wide scope of his influence in France. It seems, indeed, that the French have reaped a richer harvest in the apparently inexhaustible field of Poe's masterpieces than have his own countrymen. This is due partly to the fact that in France Poe's alleged moral delinquencies, most of which are imaginary, had nothing to do with his literary fame, and partly to the fact that his themes are too sad for most Americans. Poe has played an important part in the formation and development of the French Parnassian, Decadent, Symbolist, Vers-librist, and Neo-classical movements, and in the creation of four *genres*: the short story, the fantastic novel, the pseudo-scientific novel, and the detective novel. To the galaxy of those who felt his influence belong some of the great men in modern literature, such as Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mæterlinck, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, and some of the best known modern authors, such as Jules Verne, Gaboriau, Jean Lorrain, Pierre Benoît, Gaston Leroux, Sardou, Jean Richepin, Henri de Régnier, Henry Bordeaux, and Paul Valéry. / Poe, "le pauvre Eddie," <sup>80</sup> who was so bitterly criticized and calumniated during his life and even after his death, is now the great Poe, the great poet, the great inspirer of ideas, not only for France, but for the whole world. |

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<sup>79</sup> Huret, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>80</sup> Baudelaire, in *Le Pays*, July 23, 1854.

## FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARDI: THE MEXICAN FEIJÓO

FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARDI, the first Mexican novelist, was not at heart a writer of fiction; he was a reformer. The picaresque novel was for him merely a means of expression, a vehicle for the utterance of his ideas for the improvement of society. While the place which Lizardi holds in literature is due almost entirely to the truthfulness with which he portrayed the life of Mexico in his day, his work as a reformer is not to be despised. As a *costumbrista*, Lizardi is an independent and original writer; as a reformer, he is indebted to others for many of the ideas which he advances. It is the purpose of this study to indicate some of the reforms which he advocated and to show, in some detail, to what extent he was indebted for his ideas to Feijóo, a Spanish reformer.

Lizardi, born in Mexico City in 1776, received his education in the best schools of that capital. His first literary effort, *Letrillas satíricas*, a volume of poems published in 1810, suggests the moralizing tone which was to mark all of his literary work. In 1812 he established a newspaper, *El pensador mexicano*, in which he attacked many current abuses, both of social and of political life. In his novels he elaborated many of the ideas advanced in the shorter articles. Three volumes of *El Periquillo Sarniento* were published in 1816, but the fourth volume was suppressed by the government. *La Quijotita y su prima* and *Noches tristes* appeared in 1818, while his last novel, *Don Catrín de la Fachenda*, does not seem to have come from the press until 1832, five years after the death of the author.<sup>1</sup>

No serious study of the literary sources of Lizardi has yet been made. In "El Periquillo Sarniento y la crítica mexi-

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the life and works of Lizardi, see L. González Obregón's *D. José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi*, Mexico, 1888. The following works of Lizardi are cited most frequently in this study: *El pensador mexicano*, 1812-14; *El Periquillo Sarniento*, Mexico, 1830-31, 5 vols.; *La Quijotita y su prima*, Mexico, 1831-2, 4 vols. Hereafter these books will be referred to respectively as *P.M.*, *Per.*, and *Quij.*

cana,"<sup>2</sup> Alfonso Reyes evaluates the various criticisms of Lizardi's work. This article presents evidence, apparently indisputable, that Lizardi modeled his novels, especially *El Periquillo* and *Don Catrín*, on the Spanish picaresque stories. A comparison of Lizardi's novels with those of the Spanish picaresque writers reveals, however, that he is not particularly indebted to these for his thought content. To cite but one instance, the theme of the rearing and educating of children, of which Lizardi is particularly fond, scarcely enters the field of Spanish picaresque fiction. The frequent references of Lizardi to Fénelon and Blanchard suggest that he drew largely from the educational works of these writers. He admits freely that José Cadalso furnished the model for the *Noches tristes*; and references in various works show that he was acquainted with the writings of Torres Villaroel, Padre Isla, and Iriarte. But there is another member of this group, Fray Benito Gerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro (1676-1764), to whom Lizardi is probably more indebted than to any other single writer.<sup>3</sup>

Feijóo, a Spanish monk of the Benedictine order, passed the greater part of his life in the college of San Vicente in Oviedo. In spite of the rutinary age in which he lived, this Benedictine was an ardent advocate of the spirit of progress that had begun to filter into Spain from France and England; and he endeavored with reformatory zeal to awaken his countrymen to the fact that they were lagging behind the rest of the civilized world. The scope of his work is both extensive and varied, including treatises in essay form on science, medicine, moral philosophy, social problems, political economy, pedagogy, and popular superstitions. The bulk of his labors is to be found in two works: *El teatro crítico universal* (1726-1739), published in eight volumes; and *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (1753-1760), in five volumes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Revue hispanique*, Vol. 38, pp. 232 ff. Consult also M. L. Wagner, *Ein mexikanisch-spanischer Schelmenroman: Der 'Periquillo Sarniento' des José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. 34, 1916, pp. 76-100.

<sup>3</sup> Lizardi makes frequent direct references to Feijóo: to his article on estimating the value of books in *P.M.*, 1812, no. 8; to an article on Freemasonry in *Carta tercera del pensador al papista*, Mexico, May 10, 1822; to his *Senectud moral del género humano* in *Impugnación que los gatos . . . hicieron . . .*, Mexico, June 23, 1824. Other references of Lizardi to Feijóo will be cited in the text.

<sup>4</sup> In this study quotations from volume 1 of *El teatro crítico* are from the edition

At the outset it is interesting to note that, in their writings, Lizardi and Feijóo have a similar purpose and that neither anticipates appreciation or reward. In his introductory remarks, Feijóo states that he proposes to refute errors (*T.C.*, I, prol.), his ultimate purpose being the enlightenment of mankind (*T.C.*, IV, prol.; VIII, 84). Lizardi, in the first number of the 1813 *Pensador mexicano*, announces a similar ideal. Feijóo, although expecting to be censured, consoles himself with the thought that man's true worth is seldom recognized until after his death (*T.C.*, I, prol.). Lizardi expresses the same idea and he cites, as does Feijóo, the fate of many who, in life, were only rewarded with suffering for their attempts to advance right and truth (*P.M.*, 1813, no. 2). Feijóo maintains that the world, steeped in error, is ever prone to accept the false for the true (*T.C.*, I, i); Lizardi undertakes a similar theme in the first number of the 1813 *Pensador*. A few paragraphs suggesting the extent to which Lizardi follows Feijóo are placed in parallel columns for comparison:

Feijóo:

"Con mas razon diré yo, que no hay desatino alguno tan monstruoso, que no esté patrocinado de el consentimiento uniforme de algun pueblo."

"En quanto á la virtud, y el vicio, tomando uno por otro en sugetos determinados, fueron tantos los errores de los pueblos, que se tropieza con ellos á cada paso en las historias."

"¿Qué deformidades no executarían unos pueblos de Etiopia que, segun Eliano, tenían por rey á un perro?"

Lizardi:

"No ha habido disparate que no hayan abonado, ni verdad que no haya tenido oposiciones. Casi generalmente han confundido la luz con las tinieblas, logrando estas la preferencia sobre aquella."

"La historia nos presenta una serie no interrumpida, de los mas groseros desatinos admitidos como los fundamentos mas seguros de religion, y de política."

"En Egipto adoraban los perros."

of Ibarra, Madrid, 1773. All others are from the edition of Blas Roman, Madrid, 1781. Hereafter *El teatro crítico* and *Las cartas eruditas* will be referred to as *T.C.* and *C.E.*, respectively.

"Los Herulos . . . mataban todos los enfermos."

"Aun los Romanos, que pasaron por la gente mas hábil de el Orbe, fueron extremadamente ridículos en la Religion."

"Entre los antiguos Germanos el robo hacía al usurpador legítimo dueño de lo que hurtaba."

"Los Espartanos mataban a todos los muchachos que nacian enfermizos."

"Los Griegos y los Romanos, generalmente, obscurecieron la belleza de sus leyes, mezclando en estas la crueldad y la disolucion."

"Entre los alemanes, fué permitido el robo."

! But Lizardi's indebtedness to Feijóo is not limited to the acceptance of his purpose and his conception of the unwillingness of the world in general to be instructed. As soon as freedom of the press was secured for Mexico by the Spanish Constitution of 1812, Lizardi turned his energies to the publication of essays on government very similar in scope to those which Feijóo had written while enjoying the patronage of the liberal kings, Philip V and Charles III. Both writers condemn the short-sighted policy that actuated the Spanish government in permitting the exploitation and mistreatment of the Indians, in restricting industries in the colonies, and in regarding the Indies only as a place from which to draw gold. The result of such a policy, as is forcefully shown alike by the Spanish and the Mexican author, had been the impoverishment, not only of the colonies but of the mother-country as well, while foreigners had enriched themselves at the expense of both (*T.C.*, IV, 327; *P.M.*, 1812, no. 6). Feijóo, in opposing the political injustices shown the *americanos*, brands as calumnious the reports of their mental inferiority to the Spaniards (*T.C.*, II, disc. xv; IV, disc. v), a view that naturally appealed to Lizardi who, in turn, gave voice to it in his own writings. Feijóo's declaration that a man's mental endowment depends in no wise upon his place of birth was used by Lizardi as a basis for his demand that *americanos* should not be excluded from office in the Indies (*P.M.*, 1812, nos. 7 and 10).<sup>5</sup> Both writers concur in attributing bad govern-

<sup>5</sup> In *No rebuznó con más tino el pobre alcalde Argelino* (Mexico, 1820), Lizardi refers to Feijóo's writings on the political injustices which the *americanos* had suffered.



ment to the selfish politician who advances himself through flattery of those in power (*T.C.*, I, 82; *P.M.*, 1812, no. 4); in urging the necessity of selecting good ministers who have at heart the welfare of the people (*T.C.*, I, 100; *P.M.*, 1812, no. 5); in demanding that the ideal sovereign sacrifice his own interests for those of the state (*T.C.*, III, 333; *P.M.*, 1812, no. 4); and in condemning the ruler who, for his own self-aggrandizement, sacrifices his subjects in war (*T.C.*, III, 316; *P.M.*, 1812, no. 10).

Lizardi follows Feijóo in advocating the universal brotherhood of man and in deploring the jealousies between provinces of the same country and the antipathies between neighboring states, such as France and Spain (*T.C.*, II, 273; III, 277 ff.; *P.M.*, 1813, nos. 3, 4). Feijóo insists in *Amor de la patria* that those famous in history as patriots had been actuated primarily by self-interest, and that one prefers his own particular district for no other reason than that it offers him more advantages than any other (*T.C.*, III, 264). Between this essay and Lizardi's *Sobre amor de la patria* (*P.M.*, 1814, no. 1) there is similarity of treatment and in examples cited. Lizardi, however, does not speak disparagingly of those who figure in history as patriots. But ideal patriotism, in the eyes of both men, does not permit of the hating of foreigners. The man of noble spirit, for Feijóo, is one who considers the whole world as his country and mankind as his brother (*T.C.*, III, 284). Lizardi, stirred with the same sentiments, puts identical words into the mouths of one of his characters (*Per.*, IV, 97. See also *P.M.*, 1813, no. 4, and 1814, no. 1).

Among the economic problems which agitated the minds of Feijóo and Lizardi was the neglect of agriculture. Feijóo, in *Honra y provecho de la agricultura*, deplores its neglect and emphasizes its importance (*T.C.*, VIII, 462). In another article (*C.E.*, V, 307), he laments the backward state of agriculture in Spain. Lizardi attributes the high prices of food stuffs to insufficient production, urging at the same time that more land be cultivated (*P.M.*, 1813, no. 6 and Supl., Nov. 8). But it is in *El Periquillo* that Lizardi expresses himself most clearly on this subject. While not deprecating the value of gold and silver, he believes that they are of less importance to a country than



agriculture (IV, 63), for the country which neglects to develop agriculturally is on the road to ruin. There is no doubt that he believed that both Spain and the Indies were traveling in that direction (*Ibid.*, IV, 67).

Since Feijóo attributed the decline of his country to a lack of industry on the part of its inhabitants, it is small wonder that he should have little sympathy for those individuals who, on account of either birth or riches, regarded themselves as above common labor. In one of his articles on this subject, he attempts to show that one does not necessarily inherit the noble qualities of his ancestors, and that whatever honor one may claim from this source is a reflected honor (*T.C.*, IV, 1). In the ideal state, he thinks, honor should proceed from neither wealth nor blood, but from one's own merits (*T.C.*, IV, 19). He deplores the fact that certain industries are neglected for no other reason than that honor, in the minds of the people, was not associated with them. The most worthless object in the state, he adds, is the idle citizen, whether he be rich or poor, noble or plebeian (*T.C.*, VIII, 449).

The stand taken by Lizardi on this subject is in entire accord with Feijóo's attitude. In an early article (*P.M.*, 1812, no. 12), he laments the arrogance of the rich toward the poor. In *Don Catrín*, he satirizes the poor hidalgo who is too proud to work. In *El Periquillo*, the picaro's father declaims at length against the idea that hidalgo blood should prevent one from engaging in any of the humbler tasks of life. It is also evident that Lizardi believed that every citizen should contribute something to the welfare of the state, for he makes the noble Chinaman express indignation when Periquillo informed him that there were worthless nobles in Mexico who were rich and powerful through the loyalty of some distant ancestor (*Per.*, IV, 132 ff.).<sup>6</sup>

No less unusual, for their day and time, than their attitude

<sup>6</sup> Entirely in line with such ideas is the attitude of Feijóo and Lizardi in regard to beggars (*T.C.*, VI, 54 ff.; VIII, disc. xiii; *C.E.*, III, car. xxvi; *P.M.*, 1813, nos. 8, 9). Both would prohibit begging on the street and urge that the public distinguish between the worthy and unworthy poor. The state should care for the former and provide instruction in some useful art for them; the latter class should be made to serve as soldiers or be farmed out to landowners.

toward mankind in general, are the views expressed by these writers in regard to women. Feijóo undertakes to prove that women are not mentally inferior to men (*T.C.*, disc. xvi). Lizardi, who treats the same theme in *La Quijotita*, makes use of the following arguments that appear in Feijóo's essay: that the soul is the seat of wisdom, and that there is no difference between the soul of man and that of woman (*T.C.*, I, 356; *Quij.*, I, 132; II, 167); that many women of extraordinary mental gifts appear mentally inferior to men simply because their occupation in life prevents them from coming in contact with the thought of the world (*T.C.*, I, 353; *Quij.*, II, 168); that man is to blame for the immorality of women (*T.C.*, I, 327; *Quij.*, I, 115, 118). Feijóo, in defending woman, tells the fable of the dispute between a man and a lion (*T.C.*, I, 349); the repetition of this same fable by Lizardi in his defense of the female sex (*Quij.*, II, 39) suggests that he had in mind Feijóo's work on the subject.

In one other field—that of education—Lizardi and Feijóo have much in common. While there are frequent references throughout the works of Lizardi to the educational opinions of Blanchard, Fénelon, and Rousseau, it is to Feijóo alone that he turns for his ideas regarding one phase of education—the university course of study (*Per.*, I, 92). Feijóo is seconded by Lizardi in maintaining that the colleges waste too much time studying logic (*T.C.*, VII, 355; *Per.*, I, 93); in denouncing those followers of scholasticism who argue against an apparent truth (*T.C.*, II, 266; *Per.*, I, 93); in advocating the superiority of experimental physics over the Aristotelian (*T.C.*, II, 267; VII, 381; *Per.*, I, 95 ff.); and in deploring that so many sons without talent are sent to the universities (*T.C.*, II, 270; *Per.*, I, 78).

With no less asperity do both writers attack the man who claims a profession for which he has not the training—the charlatan doctor. In treating this subject the Spanish writer followed the conventional essay form, but Lizardi, after 1815, was driven, for his most effective presentation of the charlatan, to the cover of the picaresque novel. In *El Periquillo*, Doctor Sangredo typifies the charlatan; and Periquillo, himself, also follows this profession for a time. But Lizardi's debt to the picaresque writers stops with the presentation of the type, for

he differs from them in his treatment of the charlatan. The Spanish writers are generally satisfied with portraying the type without offering criticisms—a more artistic treatment; but Lizardi cannot content himself with merely presenting the career of a charlatan; he proceeds to attack both the social and educational conditions which produced him. The remarkable similarity between his attacks on the charlatan and those emanating from the pen of the Spanish reformer suggests that the Mexican writer, in his treatment of the pseudo-physician, is much more indebted to Feijóo, the reformer, than to the picaresque writers of Spain.

As model physicians, Feijóo cites the Chinese, who, in addition to being expert diagnosticians, prepared and administered their drugs, but received payment only in case the patient recovered (*T.C.*, II, 373). He regrets that the Spanish doctors are kept so busy making calls that they have no time for study or scientific observation of their patients (*T.C.*, I, 105). He claims that Nature is superior to drugs (*T.C.*, I, 136; *C.E.*, V, 400), and that strong medicines are always harmful (*T.C.*, I, 132; *C.E.*, IV, 127). He condemns the two most popular remedies of his day—purgatives and bleeding (*T.C.*, I, 144); he believes that similar remedies do not have the same effect on all individuals (*T.C.*, I, 149); and he expressly states that he is hostile to charlatans only, but bears no malice toward sincere students of medicine (*T.C.*, I, 140; *C.E.*, V, 420).

Lizardi, in *Chanzas y veras* (Mexico, 1813), refers specifically to Feijóo's beliefs in regard to doctors and medicines. In *El Periquillo*, the Chinese doctors are praised for the same virtues that are mentioned by Feijóo (III, 127; IV, 127 ff.). In the same work, the *cura* speaks the wisdom of Feijóo when he laments that doctors neither study nor observe (III, 114); and again when he proclaims the superiority of nature over drugs (III, 117. Also *Supl. al P.M.*, Sept. 27, 1813). In the same conversation, the *cura* accuses Periquillo of having killed a certain old woman with strong purgatives (III, 119). He says, too, that bleeding in a few diseases may be beneficial, but that it is always dangerous (III, 126); that a remedy that relieves one person may be poison for another (III, 126); and that the

sincere student of medicine is worthy of respect and praise (III, 116-7).

Both Feijóo and Lizardi devote many pages to combating the prevalent belief in superstitions. Feijóo has no faith in either comets or eclipses as omens. He explains the physical causes of these phenomena in such a way as to reveal that no sinister consequences need follow either (*T.C.*, disc. ix, x). Lizardi must have felt that Mexico needed enlightenment along the same lines, for the *cura* in *El Periquillo* explains the scientific facts connected with the appearance of comets and eclipses (I, 109 ff.).

Feijóo wrote four essays on miracles. In these the Benedictine monk condemns as false piety that which avails itself of falsehood to proclaim a miracle (*T.C.*, III, 127). He claims that the truth contained in the teachings of the Church is too well established to require resort to falsehood (*C.E.*, II, 170), and that the effect of so many false miracles has been to make the unbeliever sceptical in regard to the true ones, and to make the Catholic religion ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners (*T.C.*, III, 119).

Lizardi refers to Feijóo's works on miracles in the *Pensador mexicano* (1812, no. 8), and in *La Quijotita* (IV, 31-2) he avails himself of Feijóo's arguments when he makes the colonel rebuke the *beata* for believing all the reports of miracles found in books; when he attributes the invention of so many miracles to false piety; when he argues that the Catholic religion, the truth of its dogmas being apparent, has no need of falsehood; and when he states that false miracles have made the Church ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners.<sup>7</sup> Feijóo insists that the laws that govern miracles must be supernatural (*T.C.*, III, 143; *C.E.*, II, 166). Lizardi, too, insists that miracles be subjected to this test. In *La Quijotita*, the colonel's niece fell from a balcony and was not injured. The *beata* insisted that this was a miracle, but the colonel denied it, saying that the fact that she was not injured was due to a natural cause—namely, she fell on a pile of wool (IV, 46. See also *P.M.*, 1813, no. 14).

<sup>7</sup> Neither Feijóo nor Lizardi denies that miracles can take place, nor does either question those on which the Church has set its stamp of approval (*T.C.*, III, 149; *Quij.*, IV, 74).

Another parallel between Feijóo and Lizardi may be found in their treatment of premature burials. Feijóo cites the case of an Englishwoman who had apparently died in childbirth, but was restored to life by a physician in spite of others who wished to bury her (*T.C.*, V, 168 ff.). In two of his *Cartas* (I, viii; IV, xiv) he argues against hasty interments. The influence of these may be seen in Periquillo's dying request that his body be kept out of the ground for two days, as he did not want to be buried alive—the fate of many, especially *mujeres parturientes* (V, 156 ff.). Don Catrín was buried while his body was still warm—a proceeding intensely repugnant to Lizardi, for he himself requested that his funeral be delayed until at least twenty-four hours after his death (*Testamento . . . del Pensador Mexicano*, Mexico, 1827).<sup>8</sup>

Lizardi, as has been clearly shown in the preceding pages, had read Feijóo. He embarked upon his literary career with the evident purpose of carrying on the work of the Spanish reformer; for Mexico, to his eyes, was as much in need of reform in his day as was Spain in the days of Feijóo. The range of the Mexican reformer was no more limited than that of the Spanish monk; he attacked alike the weak spots of the state, of the Church, and of the individual. Little originality can be attributed to Lizardi, the reformer; he had absorbed Feijóo too thoroughly to be original. The interesting point is that Lizardi, as a writer, would hold no place in the history of Mexican literature had he remained only the reformer; not until he found that the essay—the newspaper article—failed to serve his purpose did Lizardi have the interest of either his compatriot or of the student of literature. His genius lay in his ability to preach a much needed lesson while telling a story so true in detail as to seize the imagination. Into his pictures of the life of Mexico—in some cases, his own life—he injected the spirit of Feijóo.

Feijóo, as a reformer, has ceased to interest any save the exceptional student. Many of the reforms for which he labored

<sup>8</sup> For other instances of similarity in the ideas expressed by Feijóo and by Lizardi, compare the opinion of each in regard to new styles (*T.C.*, II, disc. vi; *P.M.*, 1813, nos. 16, 18, and the supplement for Oct. 25; *Quij.*, II, 48); in regard to proverbs (*C.E.*, III, car. i; *Quij.*, I, 48 ff.); and in regard to charlatans who make a false show of learning (*T.C.*, II, disc. viii; VII, 313; *Per.*, III, 89 ff.; IV, 144).

have been effected; others have ceased to absorb progressive minds. But Lizardi, the reformer, still lives in the characters which he created. Periquillo is as real to the Mexicans as is Don Quijote to the Spaniards. And just as the thoughts of Don Quijote have served to mould the ideas of the generations for whom he has been a hero, so the ideas—the reforms which Lizardi so earnestly desired—have been brought to the attention of the Mexican through Periquillo and the other characters with whom he is associated. Feijóo tried to instruct, but the world does not want instruction; it wants to be entertained. In the entertainment he offered through the presentation of characters true to the times in which he lived, lay the secret of the success of Lizardi. He wove a narrative of incidents which appealed to the imagination, and he adapted to his own purposes in realistic fashion many of the picaresque elements of the Spanish writers. At times he halts the narrative to inject passages which savor of Feijóo, the reformer; but, very fortunately, the thread of the story survives the digressions. At other times the characters which were created in the mind of the Mexican writer voice the ideas of the Benedictine monk whose works have been lost in oblivion. Had Lizardi never read Feijóo, he might have been a greater novelist; he might have interested himself more closely in the details of plot and character. But, absorbed as he was with the hope of bettering the society in which he lived, he well deserves recognition for having accomplished that which he selected as his desideratum, “enseñar al lector y entretenerlo.” In so far as he succeeded in the first requirement, he may rightfully be called “The Mexican Feijóo.”

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## MISCELLANEOUS

### MARCEL ACHARD AND THE MODERN STAGE

"MARCEL Achard and the Modern Stage"—a difficult subject, and one on which it is scarcely possible to do more than set down a few impressions. For it would be absurd to venture to dogmatize in regard to an author who is apparently not yet wholly defined, and an art that is so elusive and still so fluid. And yet, in this new writer, as in the new art, one cannot help seeing at once that there exists something undeniably real, which a few years ago did not exist. There is something new here, something which we understand, which is of us of today; and with it there is mingled something else which is eternal, yet equally of our own essence; and which enchants us. Because it enchants us, I would seek to define it.

Marcel Achard is still a very young writer, who has been an actor, who has known hunger and destitution, and who, in these two hard schools of poverty and the stage, has learned what life is, and acquired a certain philosophy. The first time I saw a play of his was in that little Montmartre theatre, the *Théâtre de l'Atelier*, where a dozen talented actors were struggling against that wave of stupidity and banality which swept over Paris after the war,—a result partly of that post-war malady and paralysis of the will, and partly of the invasion of newly rich French and foreign visitors, all equally self-satisfied and insensible to the arts.

The name of the piece (whose spelling mischievously indicates that the title is spoken by a not too adroit English tongue) was *Voulez-vous jouer avec Moa?*—"Will you play with me?" There was a little of everything in it: clowns, a woman circus-rider, and a lover, rejected and absurd, who moved your pity together with your laughter; there was wit, there were verbal fireworks, and a touch of roughness, there was secret pity, there was sentiment masking under a frivolous cynicism. It was airy and it was subtle, but it certainly was not a great play.



It had too many defects, with not enough coherence and not enough strength. Achard had yet to grow.

He has grown very fast. It was hardly a year later that I saw his *Malborough*, and this time I saw, as I am no longer afraid to say, the work of a great author. It was on that Champs Élysées stage, on which the authors and actors of the Vieux Colombier took refuge after the closing of their theatre. On seeing *Malborough*, I could not keep from thinking of Shakespeare and of Musset. Only this was of the year 1925, quite close to us, and visibly a play written after the war; although, according to the stage directions, the action was taking place "in an eighteenth century of the imagination."

And in truth the whole thing was a fantasy, an enchanting one, rather than something which could properly be called a play. As the principal actor says in the short prologue: "This is not really a comedy; it is really a song. An old song, one that you know, a song that you and I have both sung. Only perhaps we do not sing it to the same tune."

As I have said, it is a post-war play. *Malborough* is the perfect general of war poetry—of Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfrid Owens—glorious to history and posterity, but incompetent, wire-pulling and cowardly. He cannot direct an army, he cannot use a map. Circumstances, a clever front of bluster and swagger, and his clear understanding of the importance of women, are useful to him and serve to lift him to a pedestal. *Les quatre'z officiers* who direct operations under his commands are all professional fighters to whom war is necessary but tiresome; they are resigned to blows, hardened to disappointments, and expect only to pick up what crumbs of glory and profit fall from the tables of more adroit and more audacious men. Submissive and heavy of mind, they think what others think. They are the regulars, they fight the wars.

But no, those who really fight the wars, and suffer by them, are rather such as these two poor wretches whom Achard discloses to us in a short tableau, a powerful close-up,—two soldiers of the enemy, terrified, vain, astray in a wilderness of suffering and fighting, who do not even know what they are battling for. It is they who really symbolize war, and in whom war is criticized with cynicism and a restrained bitterness.

Of women there are two. Lady Malborough, a coquette, though not *la grande coquette*; disloyal, but hardly more so than the next woman; as inconstant as the rest, but not much more so; hardly capable of love; changeful in response to every impression, every opinion in the light of which she must play her rôle. Because every woman is an actress, and especially every woman of the social world, a fact which Achard is not the one to forget. She is like lake water, pure and clear at the surface but thick with slime in its depths, in which all life is mirrored—a cloud, the changing sky and the laughing sunlight which may at any moment be darkened by a storm. She changes with each breath. She will be the inconsolable widow of a great man dead, who in life was nothing but a brutal blockhead whom she had never loved. But she is woman, and, such as she is, we have no choice but to love her, to try to catch those shifting reflections as they pass, and to fall into despair when they vanish. We—that is, who? Why, her lover, the page, this Howard who is the mouthpiece of his author; you, I, the poet, any man who is not a block of wood, who is capable of love and of suffering.

Young Howard is charming. He is a dreamer, who is clutched at the end of the first act by the rough hand of reality. Reality with its brutal stupidity is evidently symbolized for a moment by a gesture of Malborough's; (Howard's love had just become apparent, and the general has just been named commander-in-chief):

"Howard (*entrant*).—Eh! bien?

"Malborough (*dans un grand élan*, lui met la main sur l'épaule, l'entraîne).—Viens te battre."

That is the end of the first act. That hand laid on our shoulder which rudely hurries us away, all of us of Achard's generation have felt; that call to combat, to cruel struggle, we have all heard. And we recognize them on the stage with a kind of shudder. Reality!

Sensibility and poetry are not for this world, that we know. They would be out of place in it, it is too rude. Howard has to suffer, but his courage in suffering will never give him the glory which accident bestows on Malborough. And Sarah, who has

loved Howard, will prefer the pose of fidelity to a husband, once he is dead, who has left her the splendid bequest of his marvelous renown. The poet, you, I, the poet in us, we all of us see Howard at the end of the piece, a shape clothed with shadows and broken with suffering, who lies flattened to earth in his sorrow while Malborough has all the glory. It is he who triumphs. And he is dead. And just here there is a light and clever touch in the use of the music, the incidental music which accompanies the play. Up to this point the composer has not once made use of the well-known air, with its *mironton, mironton, mirontaine*; but at the close of the last act, when Howard at last tries to speak the truth about his chief, and the others say to him: "What! You are capable of wishing to blacken his name? Happily he has History!" then the music picks up its little air: *Mirliton de mironton, ton ton ton taine: Malborough il a l'histoire*. And so the poem ends on a jest, with an ache and sob of poetry under it.

There are many other things in this play which I have not mentioned. There is the charming setting of the third act, the top of a tower where Lady Malborough stands waiting, as if in the sky. A setting highly conventionalized, a dream-tower which seems to hang by blue ribbons, from a sky of as unreal a blue, against which stands out, as delicious and absurd as the feminine soul, the rose-colored toilette of Madame.

And there is Bettina, beloved of the *quatre's officiers*, who would willingly marry all four of them if she were permitted. And above all there is, everywhere, an atmosphere of poignant mockery, veiling a sentiment, exquisite and very delicate.

There are also in this fantasy, in all these audacities and contrasts, a very sure technique, equal to any requirements, a technique which makes no slips. And this amazing technique, these contrasts, these audacities, this cynicism, and this poetry which is there despite them all, bring us to a few reflections on this modern art which some extol, and some despise, and others seem disposed to treat as merely farcical.

I pick up and finger a few colored drawings, a few photographs, and inwardly turn the pages of my own recollections of the Exposition des Arts Decoratifs. There was a little of every-

thing there, yet it was not a mere jumble, for it is possible to trace in it a few general lines of interest or tendency. And what strikes us first is an immense sincerity, the rejection of conventions, of hypocrisy, of false glitter. This is an art directed at a sophisticated and very critical public, whom it would be difficult to deceive; for of course we are speaking of an art and a public altogether elect and select. This article has nothing to say of the bluffers, the commercializers, the exploiters, who covertly imitate the true artists; it considers only the latter, and they can be recognized without much trouble. Sincerity and truth are at any rate what they seek, but they do not expect to find them in a literal realism. Theirs is a wiser realism, which seeks the essence of things and not their mere surface or carapace. In the theatre it is a return, sometimes, as with G  rally, to an art that is classic, intelligent and severe. Yet not severe, for there is a sense of charming intimacy, which regards things with its quiet smile. In sculpture, it may be that *Heros* of Landowsky, handsome, muscular, of harmonious proportions, and—what never hero was yet—intelligent.

In music, we find it often in the return to Bach or Mozart, these two divinities, but a return varied by strange colors, unexpected clashes, those dissonances beloved of the poet Verlaine, which take us unaware, and clutch quite suddenly at our hearts.

Or it is those gardens, those house-furnishings, those textiles, in which colors clash and jar upon each other boldly, and are all the more amusing.

Or it is new means frankly applied, in a knowledge at once of classicism and of the richly colored Orient, to a new type of sensibility, our own. It is not with impunity that we live in a century of machines, of enterprise, of pitiless organization. We acquire without doubt a certain hardness, but along with it a quick sensibility, at the surface of our nerves, which vibrates like those electrical devices to which we daily confide our lives. And in this new and frightful "struggle for life" which the cruel Anglo-Saxon *zeitgeist* has imposed upon our old *douce France*, there has grown up a greater need for an art which shall be *intime*, which may afford a refuge from the conflict; and this

explains those soft lights, those charming painted bedsteads, those alluring corners in modern houses, made out of cushions and shadows and colors, in which shapes are lost. And it explains the poems of Paul G  raldy's *Toi et Moi*, and the poetry of our illusions of today, so light, so mocking, so profound, and so sincere.

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## VOLTAIRE AS A VAUDEVILLISTE

AS a parting shot in his warfare against Lefranc de Pompignan,—the pompous marquis, poet and anti-philosopher—Voltaire composed a *Hymne chanté au Village de Pompignan*,<sup>1</sup> which he sent, with the music, to d'Alembert on Feb. 27, 1763. It depicted the vanity of his adversary and his importance in his own village. The numerous copies of this song in commonplace books of the time and on loose sheets prove that it met with great success:

"Nous avons vu ce beau village  
de Pompignan,  
Et ce marquis brillant et sage,  
Modeste et grand;  
De ses vertus premier garant:  
Et vive le roi, et Simon Le Franc,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Il a recrépi sa chapelle  
Et tous ses vers;  
Il poursuit avec un saint zèle  
Les gens pervers.  
Tout son clergé s'en va chantant:  
Et vive le roi, et Simon Le Franc,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Je suis marquis, robin, poète,  
Mès chers amis;  
Vous voyez que je suis prophète  
En mon pays.  
A Paris, c'est tout autrement!  
Et vive le roi, et Simon Le Franc,  
Son favori, son favori!" etc.

In writing this satire, Voltaire intentionally imitated a 17th century broadside directed against Louis de Béchamel (died 1703), a financier renowned for his vanity, who, after making a

<sup>1</sup> Moland, X, 569.

fortune during the Fronde, had become *Maitre d'Hôtel* of Louis XIV. Although a good judge of painting and furniture, his greatest fame rests on his invention of a cream-sauce, the Béchamel sauce. About 1665 he became Marquis of Nointel and, on this occasion, staged a solemn celebration in this village. At once this performance was satirized in a mock-canticle, which may not have been printed, but which Voltaire may have read in one of the rather numerous manuscript collections of *Vaudevilles* or satirical songs. Its tune, *L'air de Béchamel*, became a true *Vaudeville*, a traditional pattern upon which other songs of the same nature were modelled. I print here, for comparison, a few couplets of the satire on Louis de Béchamel, derived from a 17th century manuscript in my possession:

"Un jeudi, jour de vigile,  
À ce qu'on dit,  
Avec sa noble famille  
Il est parti  
Pour son marquisat de Nointel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Lorsque le carosse approche  
Du pont levis,  
Le capitaine La Roche,  
Dès qu'il le vit  
Fit faire aux trompettes l'appel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Les enfans comme des anges  
De blanc vêtus,  
Alloient chantant les louanges  
Et les vertus  
Du nouveau Marquis de Nointel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Le plus huppé du village  
Nommé Turpin,  
Vint pour rendre son hommage  
Tout en Latin



Au brave Marquis de Nointel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil  
Son favori, son favori!

"Mais comme ni l'un ni l'autre  
Ne l'entendoit,  
Son secrétaire Le Nautre  
Tout expliquoit  
Au savant marquis de Nointel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Quand il entra dans l'église  
Cloches on sonna,  
Même à plus d'une reprise  
On encensa  
Le grave Marquis de Nointel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Le curé, la messe dite,  
Se présenta,  
Puis avec de l'eau bénite  
Il aspergea  
Le dévot Marquis de Nointel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

.....

"Tous les vassaux de la terre  
Bien advertis  
Vinrent en bon ordre de guerre  
Près du logis  
Du brave Marquis de Nointel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

.....

"Un vieux barbier du village  
Marchoit devant  
Avec une fort belle image  
De satin blanc,

Portant écrit dans un cartel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!  
.....

"Ce fut une grande tristesse  
Quand il partit,  
Mais pour apaiser leur détresse  
Il leur promit  
A tous, l'ordre de Saint Michel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!

"Je suis de noble origine,  
Assurément:  
Je descends en droite ligne  
Du roi Priam,  
Ou du moins de Charles Martel:  
Vive le roi, et Béchameil,  
Son favori, son favori!"

The imitation of this satire by Voltaire is obvious. It is even likely that the music, which has been reprinted by Moland, is that of the original Béchameil-song.

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## REVIEWS

*Dante's Conception of Justice*, by Allan H. Gilbert, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1925, pp. ix + 244.

This book is not an original investigation. The relationships commented upon have long been established; nor is the manner of presentation entirely adequate. Even after a cursory examination, one discovers that the author has a somewhat insecure hold on the language and the subject matter of the books he uses. For example, in the passage in which he tries to connect Dante's treatment of inhuman sins with Aristotle's *Politics* (I. 1) and with St. Thomas, he translates the latter's commentary on the passage as follows (p. 7): "The word *human* indicates what is useful and what is harmful. It follows from this that it signifies the just and the unjust. For justice and injustice consist in a man's receiving equable or inequable treatment in helpful or injurious things. And this word is applicable only to men (!) for the reason that" etc. Of course St. Thomas never uttered such things. He says "*Human speech* is expressive of what is useful and of what is useless, hence of what is just and of what is unjust. For justice and injustice deal with equal or unequal distribution of things useful or harmful. And therefore *speech* is peculiar to man" etc. (Sed loquutio humana significat quid est utile et quid nocivum. Ex quo sequitur quod significet iustum et iniustum. Consistit enim iustitia et iniustitia ex hoc quod aliqui adaequantur vel non adaequantur in rebus utilis et nocivis. Et ideo loquutio est propria hominibus, etc.) Nothing here about sins human or inhuman, but simply a contrast between rational speech and irrational vocal utterances of lower animals.

On page 9, while discussing the role of the things of Fortune in human events, St. Thomas is translated as follows: "Yet man desires these in prayer to God as though they were suitable for him, and thus is made avaricious and unjust; but he ought to pray that he might choose what is good *for himself*, that he may labor as he should according to *virtue*." What St. Thomas actually says is: "But men ask these things in their prayers as though they were suitable for them *at all times* and thus are made unjust and greedy: instead we should pray that those things which are good *in themselves* (quae sunt secundum se bona) be made good for man. So that each may choose what is good for him, *namely* to act rightly in accordance with virtue (scilicet operari recte secundum virtutem)."

The scholastic technicalities are often unsurmountable obstacles. On page 14, while emphasizing the predominance of avarice, the author attributes to St. Thomas the following impossible statement: "Thus other vices can be present in a man without the avarice which is *especially* called injustice." The true meaning of the passage is "Thus the other vices can exist without avarice which is a particular kind of injustice" (Sic aliae malitiae possunt esse sine avaritia quae est specialis iniustitia). On page 33 we are told that according to Aristotle, "justice in the strict sense of the word" is *different* from "political justice." Professor Gilbert's precise words are: "Aristotle says that he is dealing at once with justice in the strict sense of the word and with political justice. The latter implies an association" etc. What Aristotle says is just the opposite of this (see the passage in *Ethics* 459). The old Latin version

has it correctly and St. Thomas also, who says: "quod justum de quo quaeritur est iustum simpliciter quod est iustum politicum," which does not mean (as Prof. Gilbert translates it) "the justice here dealt with is justice in the *simplest* form which is political justice," but rather the *justum* which is here inquired into is the absolute *iustum* which is the same as the political *justum* (*simpliciter* meaning "absolutely, unrestrictedly"). On the same page (33) we also read this ineptitude ascribed to Aristotle: "Yet the doing of some injustice does not imply injustice in everything," as a rendering of "in quibus autem iniustum facere non omnibus iniustitia," which means "injustice is not present in all those who commit unjust acts," or, as the Greek text has it, "injustice always implies an unjust act, but an unjust act does not always imply injustice." The presentation here is vitiated throughout by the author's failure to see the contrast between *iniustitia* and *iniustum*, between ἀδύα and τὸ ἀδύατον.

The meaning of the comment of St. Thomas (page 48) is hopelessly distorted because of the misconception as to the meaning of *ratio*, which is here the *ratio essendi*. At the close of the passage we read (p. 49) that "the things which follow from the reasons may be changed as belonging to a less important group," as a translation of "illa vero quae consequuntur, mutantur ut in minori parti," which means instead: "In the actualization of a principle there are deviations, but only exceptionally" (ut in minori parte).

The technical meaning of *per se* and *per accidens* also causes trouble as on page 57, where the presentation of the thought of Aristotle and St. Thomas is almost unrecognizable.

On pages 29-30 we find a glaring contradiction in the following translation from St. Thomas:

"That is why money is called *numisma*, for *nomos* means law, since money is not a measure according to nature, but according to *nomos*, or law, for nature can remove the value from coins and render them useless." This passage is a translation of the following text: "Et inde est quod denarius vocatur numisma: nomos enim lex est, quia scilicet denarius non est mensura per naturam, sed nomo, idest lege; est enim in potestate *natura* transmutare denarios et reddere eos inutiles." If we correct the misprint *natura*, as both sense and grammar demand, and read *nostra* (abbreviated in both cases *nra*), the contradiction disappears; and the commentary of St. Thomas is brought into agreement with Aristotle's passage which (in the *antiqua translatio*) says: "et in nobis est transmutare et facere inutile."

The part of Prof. Gilbert's book which deals with the analysis of the principles of punishment and reward in the *Divine Comedy* is not usually very sound. On page 130, he tries to prove against Torraca that the manner of punishment of avarice in Purgatory is not imitative of the sin. According to his view, the avaricious are forced to look down with their faces to the pavement, not because in life they had sinfully kept their souls glued to the base earth, but because their punishment consists in being (p. 132) "unable to look with longing eyes upon the good things of the world." (!!) No one who understands the text, the very clear text, of Dante could have any doubt on the subject. The poet says:

"Quel ch' avarizia fa, qui si dichiara  
In purgazion dell' anime converse:  
E nulla pena il monte ha più amara.  
Sì come l'occhio nostro non s' aderse  
In alto, fisso alle cose terrene,

Così giustizia qui a terra il merse,  
 Come avarizia spense a ciascun bene;  
 Lo nostro amore, onde operar perdési;  
 Così giustizia qui stretti ne tiene  
 Ne' piedi e nelle man legati e presi." (*Purg.*, 19. 115-124.)

"What avarice consists in (the act of avarice) is here made manifest for the purification of the converted souls." That is: after conversion the avaricious man can remove the stain of his transgression by realizing the implications and the significance of his immoral act. This profound and recurrent thought of Dante is wiped out by our author, who, ignoring all the exigencies of language and syntax and thought, can say that "the simplest meaning here (of the first quoted *tersina*) would be: Avarice is the sin for which the souls in the circle are punished" (p. 131).

The second *tersina* makes the thought clearer: even as our eye did not uplift itself on high, but remained fastened on earthly things (not the good things, but the bad things), so divine justice here immersed it into the earth. The clear evidence of these lines is explained off by Prof. Gilbert, as follows (p. 132): "The eyes which were not raised to heaven are now plunged to earth; the eyes once fixed on things of the earth now regard the earth itself. The question arises: Are earthly things and the earth substantially identical? or can we feel that there is instead a contrast in meaning? Earthly things are the good things of this earth which the eyes of those who are now groveling in the dust no longer look upon."

Which is all impossible. Prof. Gilbert takes Dante's "earthly things" and to help along his argument, inserts the adjective "good." By such device anything can be proved: vice can be made a virtue, and rain into sunshine. But contrasting "earthly things" arbitrarily called *good* with "the earth" which is bad, would be as sensible as calling gold *base* and things of gold *precious*. Fastening the eye on earthly things is, for Mr. Gilbert, man's duty; evidently then the act of uplifting it on high (sì come l'occhio nostro non s'aderse) is a sin; and avarice becomes a virtue and Dante becomes—what?

The condemnation of the evil of avarice often is expressed in the Middle Ages by symbols connected with the *earth*. And the avaricious person is regularly compared with the mole. St. Bonaventura (Peltier's edition, vol. 13, p. 95) says for example: "avarus eligens *terrenam* habitationem cum talpa et statuens *oculos* declinare in *terram*." And if the Latin is not satisfactory, see *Le Laie Bible* (edited by J. A. Clarke, Columbia University Press, 1923), verses 669-672:

"Li avarissieus resamble  
 Trop bien le fouant, ce me samble,  
 C'onques ne cesse d'assamblar  
 La terre et d'amonceler."

And there are Italian examples as well as German ones.

The same disrespect for facts and their significance is shown in the treatment of envy (pp. 123-125): In order to prove again that the penalty does not imitate the crime but is opposed to it, he begins by saying that the envious of Purgatory have their eyes sealed unto blindness because "unless one sees, either literally or figuratively, the goods of others, one can hardly be envious" (p. 123) for "this recalls the original meaning of the Latin *invidia*, coming from *invidere* (in + videre, to see), which meant to look askance at, to look maliciously or spitefully at. By derivation, then, envy is a matter of sight" (p. 124). According to Prof. Gilbert, then, the malice of envy consists in seeing something somehow—and therefore he triumphantly

concludes: "The justice of Dante's conception is clear. The envious are redressing the balance by giving up the faculty through which they had especially sinned. The loss of sight may signify retirement from the world through sickness or exile, so that the victim is less tempted to envy, and more certain, because blind to the world, 'of beholding the high light' of heaven."

Dante's conception is the opposite of all this, as it is known *lippiis et tonsoribus*. The envious man sins in that he does not want to see, in that he turns away his eyes. Dante says this explicitly (*Purg.* 13. 133-135):

"'Gli occhi,' diss'io, 'mi fieno ancor qui tolti,  
Ma picciol tempo; chè poca è l'offesa  
Fatta per esser con invidia tolti.'"

The envious are righted by being made to feel, and to make explicit to themselves and others, the malice inherent in their not wanting to see. They would not see on earth the good of others: here they cannot see their own good, for to them

"Luce del ciel di sè largir non vuole." (*Purg.* 13. 69.)

All this is in accord with the ordinary views of the time. For whatever the true etymology of *invidia* (what the author quotes is the first definition of Harper's dictionary and not its derivation), an etymology popularly accepted in the thirteenth century consisted in identifying "invidere" with "*non videre*." (St. Bonaventura, 8. 136, "*invidia a non videndo quia non potest videre bona aliorum*."") And the Scriptures were interpreted accordingly: Job's "Per diem incurrent tenebras et quasi in nocte sic palpabunt in meridie" is explained by the *Glossa ordinaria* "*mens invidi cum de bono alieno affligitur de radio solis obscuratur . . . quia livore caeci . . . caeci circumseunt, id est invidentes facta dictaque scrutantur*" etc. (Wal. Strabo, *Glossa Ordinaria* s. lib. Job.)

The handling of the Paradiso is also unsatisfactory. The courage shown in dealing with the philosophical problems of that *Cantica* is not justified by the preparation of the author, which symptomatically reveals itself by such statements as these (p. 176): "In the last heaven, the *primum mobile*, all the saints are gathered together, for here all have their dwelling place, without respect to their grades."

The interpretative accuracy may be sampled by reading on page 174 the discussion of Paradiso XXVIII, 109-14. This passage in Dante is a clear presentation of the intellectualist's view of beatitude in opposition to the voluntarist's. The poet here polemically takes sides in this famous thirteenth century controversy, and says in plain language that beatitude primarily is founded on the act of the intellect and only secondarily on the act of the will (the voluntarists held the opposite) and that the beatific capacity of the intellect depends on grace and deeds. Prof. Gilbert comments on this important philosophical statement in such a way that no vestige of Dante's thought remains. He says "We may take this as Dante's statement of the cause of the satisfaction of men in ordinary life with the divine justice. In proportion as men are able to see clearly they can advance from 'grade to grade' of blessedness. When a man is thus graded in accord with what is within himself, he has no dissatisfaction with his own lot, but accepts it as in harmony with the eternal verities."

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L. Pierre-Quint, *Marcel Proust, sa vie, son œuvre*, Paris, Kra, 1925, 303 pp.

E. de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Robert de Montesquiou et Marcel Proust*, Paris, E. Flammarion, 1925, 248 pp.

In reading Proust one experiences first incomprehension and boredom, later astonishment at having never read anything like it, and finally an immense admiration for a man whose painstaking and endless labours have enabled us to look into the innermost sanctuaries of life just as clearly as if we looked into a deep well. At first, our eyes are still blinded by the sunlight, everything is blurred. Then the coolness of the well penetrates us. The limpid water reflects our image, and at the same time its depth makes us see, apparently beyond and beneath the point, where vision ceases.

His fiction is not fiction. It is the palpable truth through the eyes of our seemingly unconscious observation. Dreamlife appears to be more real than our waking life. It becomes crystallized through the attenuated hues of our unconscious memory. Apparently the human breath which hazes the mirror gives it greater clearness after it fades away.

Marcel Proust's disillusionment in life, accentuated by his intense *bonté* (we do not know whether to translate the word here by goodness or by generosity) is great. Life to him is art. The accomplishment of life—indeed its ultimate aim—is art, beyond which we cannot see. The manifestation of the spirit to him is not God, but Art. In his own interpretation of Ruskin he sees Art as being strictly moral—not however of the morality of the bourgeois. He once thought that the nobleman had that exquisite quality which can *differentiate*. But he found it only in himself.

The volume of Mme. de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Robert de Montesquiou et Marcel Proust*, is an entertaining record of the times she met the two heroes of her book and the letters they wrote to her. The most interesting part of it is her analysis of their relative merits and claims to posterity. Her comment on the books of Proust is as amusing as it is sincere. She admits that ordinarily the ponderous outlook on life is reserved to works on philosophy and history, which few of us really read. It didn't seem as if a novel warranted as much deep thought. Moreover, she goes on, the superficial and well-known tone of the contemporary novels permitted one to go through them in an hour. But at the end of an hour one has read only twenty-five pages of Proust. This charming confession from an aristocrat sums up the general attitude of our present day readers, accustomed as they are to look at novel reading as a relaxation which does not require the slightest mental effort.

Robert de Montesquiou, regarded by many as the model of Proust's Monsieur de Charlus, is the superb dandy, whose *fêtes* are the marvel of Paris, and who attracted to his elaborate mansion the *Tout Paris* of before the war and the most conspicuous constellations in the world of art and letters. He made a fast and tremendous impression on Proust, even to such an extent that the latter tried to ape him in dress and mannerisms.

The story goes that after Montesquiou's death every item belonging to him had been carefully labeled, even to a few bits of string to which a slip of paper had been attached reading as follows: "Little bits of string, which are of no practical use or value." Alas, this *arbitrator elegantiarum* also left a dozen or more volumes of poetry, which might have borne the same label!

Robert de Montesquiou, so says the authoress, would have liked to have had Proust's literary glory, and Proust—that is, during his youth—wanted to be that fabulous person, Robert de Montesquiou. But Proust dwarfs the aesthete with all the power of his genius.



She copies many letters, and we do not blame her, because these letters enlighten us in so far as Montesquiou is to be identified with the comte de Charlus. Proust and Montesquiou became and stayed friends. Robert de Montesquiou, however, had a particularly quarrelsome character; and even the affable, scrupulously polite Proust wearied sometimes of this pompous creature, as is revealed in one of his letters to him, which ends thus . . . "and dying from fatigue, allow me after so many bows and scrapes, to salute you respectfully for the last time."

Even Montesquiou's much-feared and heralded memoirs, *Les Pas effacés*, published posthumously, failed to draw his works from the well-deserved obscurity into which they had sunk. Montesquiou had that Wildean, Whistlerian charm which can be put to neither page nor canvas. It is only the genial description of Proust's Charlus (perhaps not showing him in the best light) which brings him to life again. He himself will never live through his works, except as a fantastic being, the last of the nineteenth century's dandies.

Not so Proust. . . . "He was buried, but during the whole funereal night, in the lighted windows, his books, divided into groups of three, stood watch, like angels with spread wings, and appeared to him who was no more, as a symbol of resurrection."

The *ton de badinage*, taken so seriously as a mark of good breeding in the Paris salons, breathes through the book of Madame la Comtesse, even if the underlying tragedy of life and the seriousness of her purpose make it a loyal tribute to the memory of her two friends, who perhaps were equally gifted, but one of whom squandered it on outward glory, while the other betimes retired to live like a hermit and only very occasionally emerged out of his seclusion in order to verify his impressions, only aware of one imperishable thing: his work, his priceless gift to posterity.

Mr. Pierre-Quint's book goes much deeper into the matter of Proust's life, and the conclusion he draws stands irrefutable in the light of Proust's achievement. The times are passed when Proust's work was considered as merely an elaborate *compte-rendu* of the doings of society. He is no more the *mondain* who pictures the life of his class. He also breaks with French hidebound traditions. He has discovered Freud and Einstein. He delves into the unconscious, and considers time an illusion. The sequence is of no consequence—time and mind (conscious and unconscious) overlap each other, and the underlying structure of his work lies in the until now unexplored fields of memory. It is life in retrogression, as it were. Destiny, moulded through dreamlife into the unconscious mind, consciously asserted as memorized from past life.

Not enough stress, it seems to me, has been laid on the fact that Proust was half Jewish. His mother was a Jewess, and if it had not been for this strong admixture of Jewish blood, he might never have developed that hypercritical quality, that patient research after motivation for certain actions, which for centuries has been the salt of Talmudic argumentation. And this seems to be the only important factor which Mr. Pierre-Quint leaves out of his otherwise admirable study of Proust. He shows very well how Proust's artistic yearning took the place of other people's religion. It was religion to him.

His phenomenal memory did not only serve him to record the doings of the great. He saw far beyond and past their little lives; they were but milestones, and it seems hard indeed to imagine that the *mondain* who wrote *Pastiches et mélanges* is the same as the author of *A la Recherche du temps perdu*.

If in his early years he appears to be the perfect snob, it is only because at all

costs he must adopt a particular code in order better to understand the motives which underlie the actions of the upper strata of society. The dust which covers the butterfly's wings must be handled with care. Thus it is with the coat of veneer which covers the passions of the *beau monde*. Once he divested them of it he found them and their servants very much alike. It was not disappointment alone which made him withdraw from society. He was ill and fatigued, and its futility could charm him no longer. He had to look at them through himself, that is, through his memory for and with which he lived from then on exclusively. This self-searching, time-broaching quality makes him stand out from those of his contemporaries who wrote but superficially about the very same people. They seem futile and shallow compared to Proust. Take for instance that drawing room "psychologist," Paul Bourget. After Proust it is impossible to read and enjoy him.

The picture of Proust that haunts me more particularly than any other is that of him during a trip to Normandy in a taxicab, looking through the closed windows at the apple blossoms and hawthorne blooms, which he loved so dearly, but the smell of which oppressed him beyond endurance. Probably his asthmatic trouble plays a great part in his work. It gave him that unusual sensitiveness which did not allow him to enjoy physically these sensations, but forced him to transmute them mentally into art.

He was idealistic in the purest sense of the word and even his penetrating insight of the perversions treated in *Sodom et Gomorre* shows the truly immense understanding he had of love, as well as, in other instances, of the utter loneliness of man, and more particularly of that vice which is engendered by love,—jealousy.

Mr. Pierre-Quint's book, in so far as it is a masterly analysis of Proust's work, will serve as a very helpful guide to the totality of Proust as published thus far.

A. VAN AMEYDEN VAN DUYN

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*Guy de Maupassant*, von Heinrich Gelzer, *Sammlung Romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1926, 208 pp.

The general reader who desires a thorough and penetrating analysis of Maupassant's work may safely be referred to this 208-page volume by a Professor of Romance Philology at the University of Jena. The book consists of a succinct biography, a statement of the relations of Flaubert and Maupassant with a careful appraisal of the extent and quality of the former's influence upon the latter, an examination of representative short stories with a view to bringing out their diversity of form and at the same time their common stylistic characteristics, a discussion of the novels and of the minor works (poetry, dramas, travel-books, and unfinished novels), and an illuminating chapter on Maupassant's personality. The book appears at a time when interest in Maupassant is being stimulated by the constant and widespread advertisement of translations of his stories.

For a student of French literature and even for anyone who knows Maupassant and his work well, the volume in question is not without considerable interest. It has, to be sure, one or two drawbacks. The bibliography, consisting only of ten titles, is exceedingly slim. It seems as if Professor Gelzer should at least have acknowledged the existence of other critical studies, such as those by Brunetière and Doumic. A more serious point is that the author does not indicate Maupassant's relations to realism or naturalism, his place in the general development of French literature or, more specifically, French fiction. He demonstrates his connection

with Flaubert and one or two other individuals, but does not "place" him in his larger environment.

Of the commendable features of the volume, the most striking is the author's delimitation of Flaubert's influence. The position Professor Gelzer takes is an unorthodox one. The generally accepted view is that Maupassant was completely Flaubert's "disciple." Agnes R. Riddell, in *Flaubert and Maupassant: A Literary Relationship* (Dissertation, Univ. of Chicago, 1920) remarks in the conclusion to a minute study of this subject (p. 109), "It seems as if the pupil, trained for years by the master, and brooding, as he must have done, both during that period and in subsequent days of remembrance, over the monuments of that master's achievement, had absorbed so thoroughly the essentials of the latter's thought and expression that he reproduces them almost unconsciously." Now Professor Gelzer points out that Flaubert's influence, apparent enough in the works which Maupassant published during the former's lifetime and which, therefore, the master personally supervised, criticized, and corrected, became, when the personal contact was lacking, rapidly weaker, till the younger man's own characteristics completely dominated his work (cf. especially p. 26).

The two men were radically different in temperament. Flaubert, a conscientious artist, was ready to sacrifice everything to his art; Maupassant, a lover of an active life, of sports, and of women, sacrificed art to pleasure. Flaubert *hated* banality; Maupassant *scorned* the Philistines but *hated* nothing.

In their methods of work the two writers also differed absolutely (cf. p. 128 and p. 201). Flaubert sat at his writing-desk, laboriously correcting his own work, even reading it aloud to himself to get its full effect. Maupassant worked practically everything out in his mind before touching pen to paper. Writing it down was a minor matter, and he wrote as many as seventy-two pages of manuscript without making a correction.

So different, then, were the two men, that notwithstanding the detailed character of Flaubert's criticisms of his friend's early work and the completeness with which the younger man accepted the advice of the older, Flaubert's influence was always merely superficial and lasted only a couple of years after his death (in 1880); Maupassant then went his own way to fame and fortune.

In his analysis of Maupassant's stories, Professor Gelzer's most important point is his emphasis of certain peculiarities of style. Maupassant has used to excess, he shows, a sort of three-fold construction (*Dreiklang*): "sur ses goûts, sur ses rêves, sur ses plaisirs;" or "le bousculant, le secouant, le bourrant." Professor Gelzer gives dozens of examples of this construction. Another peculiarity is a use of repetition, of which, the German critic avers, Flaubert would undoubtedly have disapproved: e.g. "Pourquoi . . . ? Pourquoi . . . ? Pourquoi . . . ?" or "à côté de . . . à côté de . . . à côté de . . ." Again we have literally dozens of examples (cf. p. 79, p. 107, etc.).

In the Preface to *Pierre et Jean*, Maupassant ascribes to Flaubert and accepts for himself the dictum that the literary artist must seek the one word that a situation demands; and this has often been quoted as characteristic of Maupassant's art. Professor Gelzer asserts that Maupassant did not follow this doctrine in practice. Instead of making painstaking search for the right word, he again and again allowed an easy, trivial, even hackneyed adjective to slip from his pen. And the critic's contention is abundantly supported by examples.

Another point of interest about the stories is that, in dividing them into ten

groups according to subject-matter, Professor Gelzer brings together as a last group five stories that deal with hallucinations or with the supernatural. And, again, contrary to what is probably the prevailing view, he supports the opinion of Paul Zarifopol that the progress of Maupassant's disease and his approaching insanity had no effect upon his interest in this theme. The five stories taken in chronological order do not show any augmentation of interest.

In connection with his discussion of the novel, *Mont-Oriol*, Professor Gelzer points out a hitherto unsuspected influence upon Maupassant, that of Octave Feuillet. To prove his point, the critic reveals certain similarities of style in Feuillet and Maupassant. He further cites in evidence the latter's mention of *M. de Camors* in the Preface to *Pierre et Jean*, shows that Feuillet contributed to the formation of the traditional conception of the Norman peasant, and finds a new sentimentality in Maupassant's work when, as in *Mont-Oriol*, he begins to describe the type of elegant, society men and women so prominent in Feuillet's novels.

The chapter on Maupassant's personality deals with his personal appearance, then with his passion for sports and hunting, his interest in music, architecture, painting, bric-à-brac, etc., his tastes in books and authors, his friends, both men and women, his method of work, his success as measured by the number of editions of various works (it would seem that the novels were more popular at first than the volumes of stories) and, finally, the causes of this success.

Professor Gelzer ascribes Maupassant's popularity less to the sexual content of most of his work than to the fact that he is always entertaining. He remarks the "piquancy" of his style, and asserts that, although some of his work has already been outgrown, other parts are immortal. One is amused and amazed by Maupassant's playful grace and the rich flow of his spontaneous humour.

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*Things Greater Than He*, by Luciano Zùccoli. Translated by Eloise Parkhurst Huguenin, New York, Henry Holt, 1926, 370 pp.

This is the second novel of Zùccoli to be translated into English and the first published in America. Some years ago, Heinemann published a translation of *La Compagnia della Leggera* under the title of *Light-Fingered Gentry*.

Luciano Zùccoli was born in Milan in 1870, the son of Count Ingenheim, an Austrian. When the count deserted his wife, Zùccoli repudiated his name and title and took that of his mother. In his youth he was a cavalry officer; and his life in the army suggested to him later the satiric novel *Ufficiali Sottoufficiali Caporali e Soldati*. On leaving the army he became a journalist. He founded the *Provincia di Modena* in 1898 and edited it until 1900. From 1903 until 1912 he was one of the editors of the *Gazzetta di Venezia*. He then became a member of the staff of the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan, to which he contributed short stories, travel and impressionistic articles. His anti-British attitude during the war caused Albertini to refuse his articles for the *Corriere*, and Zùccoli's resignation followed immediately. Since that time he has lived in various parts of Italy, particularly in Rome, and has continued to publish short stories and novels.

Zùccoli's stories show no great originality of plot. They are all amplifications or variations of the triangle theme. He generally knows when to stop. It is too often the case with contemporary Italian writers that the story is prolonged beyond its conclusion and explains the obvious. Zùccoli brings to his aid a lively wit, a

smartness of dialogue, and above all a keen faculty of observation. These aids combine to make him an adept in the portrayal of character which is his chief concern.

His attitude toward men in his novels contrasts strongly with that toward women. Almost without exception the men are insufferably egotistical and even stupid and mediocre. Particularly distasteful are the men of the rich bourgeoisie, a class with which Zùccoli has associated much and which it seems he heartily despises. On the other hand the women are lovely, romantic, delicate and are almost always the sport and playthings of men. Zùccoli is their champion against the judgment of the male. How much this attitude may be due to the treatment of his mother by his father it is difficult to say. He sets forth his program in a belligerent preface to *Donne e Fanciulle*, a book of short stories. It is the refutation of the popular Italian theories and clichés regarding women. Zùccoli contends that woman is responsible for nothing. Whatever she may do, blame or praise belongs to the man to whom she belongs. If she commits adultery, blame her husband. Nine times out of ten it is his fault. If a man complains of the deficiencies of his wife he is complaining only of his own shortcomings.

The period of his belligerent anti-masculinism reached its climax in the preface mentioned above and declined rapidly thereafter. To it is due, perhaps, his best analytical novel, *Il Designato*, and other very fine things, both long and short stories.

*Things Greater Than He* is the story of the old but ever vital struggle between spiritual and material things. It is the story of Giorgio Astori, the younger son of a rich commercial bourgeois. The boy is sentimental, melancholic, a dreamer. The elder son, Andrea, is practical and gives promise of being of valued assistance in his father's business. The father loves his elder son but for the younger he has little feeling other than that of compassion as toward the feeble-minded.

Giorgio tries to attach himself to one or other of the members of the household but with little success. His father and his brother are always busy with their affairs. His mother is always occupied preparing tidbits for her lord and master. His confidant becomes, then, his high stool, on which he perches motionless for hours at a time.

He cannot understand this world. Why is it that he cannot eat more than one peach for dessert? Andrea can. The reason seems to be one of discipline. It is good for our souls to deny ourselves things we desire. But Andrea? And Giorgio consults his high stool to think this out.

He is out of place in this world. There is no room for him, for people who remember their little tragedies long after everybody else has forgotten. Andrea commits suicide when he is about to be found out a forger by his father. Giorgio remembers the pool of blood under his head for years. His mother and father have let the memory of it grow dull with time. His little friend Ada simply does not remember. He remembers it as the day before yesterday. Why are things so?

He finds it impossible to adjust himself to the harshness and ruthlessness of life, and when a blow comes harder than the others, his heart breaks and he dies.

The first part of the book is much the best. Already, in *Farfui* and in *La Freccia nel Fianco*, Zùccoli has given us a glimpse of his ability to dissect the minds of children. Here he has taken the study of a child's mind as his theme and has given us scenes of childhood which, for their accuracy of detail, their understanding of childish likes and dislikes, quarrels and reconciliations, are among the finest pages he has written.

There are faults in the book. Almost all of them appear in the second half of it.

Digressions on the state of the father's business remove attention from the tragedy of Giorgio. The conclusion of the story is weak and unsatisfactory.

The fine points of the book far outweigh its weaknesses. The book is Giorgio, Giorgio who sits musing on his stool, who conducts veritable campaigns with his pen-point armies and his ferocious captains, Kavalli and Tarafià, Giorgio who sees a blood-red sea when his aunt plays the piano, Giorgio who cannot adjust himself to the world.

Eloise Parkhurst Huguenin has succeeded in giving an excellent translation which loses nothing of the original. It is to be hoped that she will follow it with translations of other novels of Zùccoli. A suggestion might be *Il Designato* and *Roberto* or *Farfui*, as well as a selection of his short stories.

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### FRENCH LITERARY NEWS IN BRIEF

**LÉGION D'HONNEUR:** As a result of the Exposition des Arts décoratifs, there has been a special promotion of the Légion d'Honneur. Among the many awards we find men belonging to all classes of society: commerce, industry, arts, sciences, letters. Some of the most noteworthy are: M. Paul Claudel, ambassador and poet; M. Firmin Gémier, director of the Théâtre national de l'Odéon; M. Eugène Fasquelle, a publisher; and the famous glass artist Lalique.—**MORE STATUES IN PARIS:** When Sarah Bernhardt came to this country she was given a very enthusiastic welcome and was the object of many tributes of admiration: Americans will be pleased to hear that a statue consecrating her memory is being erected.—**ANNIVERSARIES:** The tercentenary of Mme. de Sévigné was celebrated at Tours; the program of events included, of course, a lecture and also a very appropriate performance of *Les Précieuses Ridicules*. In the same month was commemorated the anniversary of the death of the author of the *Grand Cyrus*, Mademoiselle de Scudéry, to whom we owe the famous *Carte du Tendre*. The close of July brought back the remembrance of Germain Nouveau, a friend of Rimbaud as well as of Verlaine who dedicated some of his poems to him. Lamartine's friends, grouped under the Society *Amis Jurassiens de Lamartine*, celebrated his memory during the Summer, holding for two days celebrations of a literary character. The members and guests of the Society visited in the Jura mountains those places loved by Lamartine, and availed themselves of this opportunity to listen to lectures about the poet as well as to the recitation of some poems by actresses of renown. At the same time, the local review called *Franche-Comté et Monts-Jura* (published at Besançon) devoted one of its numbers to things Lamartinian, including unpublished verse and correspondence. Among *cinquantenaires* occurring this year, we should remember the painter and writer Fromentin, best known for *Dominique* and *Un Été dans le Sahara*. Special commemorative celebrations are already being planned for the centenary of Romanticism in 1927. Lovers of French letters may find it worth while to keep up with the program of those festivities.—**CARDINAL MERCIER:** The interest in this great prelate, already pointed out in previous numbers of the ROMANIC REVIEW, is kept alive by publications dealing with his philosophy. Georges Raemakers issued recently a volume in which he analyses the attitude of this philosopher towards the scholastic doctrine, and also presents the great personality of the Cardinal by



means of many searching personal recollections.—WOMEN WRITERS: Although France boasts quite a number of *femmes auteurs*, we do not often see them appear among those rewarded with prizes. Perhaps as a remedy to that state of things, a new (!) prize was recently founded by *Minerva*, to be awarded only to women. To us it seems both odd and unfortunate to emphasize the sex distinction in literary matters. However, this year, the *Prix des Romanciers français* was awarded to a woman writer, Mme. Marguerite Baulu, for her novel *Boulle et sa Fille*.—THE REV. FATHER BARGE, who died recently, founded, in 1909, the *Revue des Jeunes*, of interest to whoever follows social and religious movements in France. As the editor of that periodical his field of action was very extensive: he organized lectures by well-known men of letters, study circles among graduate students, promoted the publication of writings by noteworthy Catholics. His latest achievement in this direction was the translation into French and editing of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in collaboration with another well-known figure of philosophical circles, the Rev. Father Gillet.—A VISITOR: Among French visitors who came to this country during the summer, we may note M. Edouard Champion, who delivered lectures on contemporary French letters at some Universities.—PRIX DES VIGNES: A very suggestive title has been given to this new prize founded somewhat recently. Its object corresponds to its name and is equally original: to reward the poet who best glorified the most characteristic production of France—her wine! The first poet to be honored was M. Raoul Ponchon.—HIGHER EDUCATION IN FRANCE: *L'Enseignement supérieur* causes as much anxiety among far-seeing cultured Frenchmen as secondary education. There seems to be a decline in its quality and efficiency, which is a menace to the culture of the whole nation. Remedies are sought, and a new book dealing with this grave problem—involving as it does the present and future of the nation—was published recently, under the title *L'Enseignement supérieur*, by M. H. Maillart.—L'HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DES PEUPLES continues to be published in fascicules. Among its recent issues some are particularly interesting to this country, describing the part played by the Americans in the fighting months of 1917-18, and analyzing the Société des Nations, treaty of Versailles, etc. . . . —PROVINCES: Every year scholars visit the South of France to study the vestiges of the ancient civilization still existing in some of its cities. Toulouse is particularly attractive, and students will welcome the recent study on this ancient town, *Le Capitole et le Parlement de Toulouse* by M. H. Ramet, as well as *Toulouse, ville artistique, plaisante, et curieuse* by M. A. Coutet. The study of folklore holds great interest for all readers, French and foreign: a study on Touraine, famous for its châteaux, has been recently published under the title *Folklore de la Touraine*. The author, M. J.-M. Rougé, spent many years in gathering data for this work which was rewarded with the *Prix Monthyon*.—REGIONALISM: The various dialects of France are being slowly killed by universal compulsory education. Now and again a group of men attempt to revive some of them; at present, for example, some Corsican writers are endeavouring to bring back to the world of letters the language of their island, by using it for the writing and publishing of their works as well as for the presentation of their periodical *l'Annu Corsu*. The tendency to revive dialects is only one more manifestation of the efforts toward decentralization of artistic interests in France. This effort manifests itself in various ways—by means of local reviews and provincial exhibitions of art which attract the foremost artists in painting and sculpture. The provinces thus become conscious of their own independent existence. One of the most successful attempts of this kind is



the *Paris-Nancy*, an organization founded in 1923 and directed by young men. Lectures, concerts, exhibitions are the various forms of activities wherein *Paris-Nancy* manifests itself as a local provincial center.—COLONIES: Like the provinces the colonies have their own life in literary matters: publications, discussions of a literary character, literary prizes are some evidences of this consciousness. The prize for colonial literature, by the way, has been awarded to a study entitled *L'Afrique occidentale dans la littérature française* by M. R. Lebel. With the object of further emphasizing their intention of remaining independent, a group of colonial people formed recently an association under the significant title of *En marge*. They want to remain free from political and religious creeds, to encourage controversial lectures and to found a library: a worthy aim, indeed, in a country where politics and religion are so bitterly discussed that it is well-nigh impossible not to be a sectarian in one sense or another.—THÉÂTRES EN PLEIN AIR: The old city of Carcassonne enjoyed a number of performances, acted by some of the best professional artists in its open air theater. Very different in its organization and manifestations from Bussang, it is particularly fond of serious plays. Corneille and Racine are, of course, in the répertoire, but above all else . . . Shakespeare. As a matter of fact what background could be better suited to Hamlet or Macbeth than those old fortified walls, battlements, and towers? Bussang had as active a season as heretofore, having produced this year one of its favourite plays, *Amys et Amyle*, whose author is M. Maurice Pottecher himself.—INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: The "Federation of Pen Clubs" held its annual four-day congress in Berlin. Besides the usual intellectual gatherings, there were also receptions and excursions. Many and notable are the contributors to the Federation, including Galsworthy, Paul Valéry, Jules Romains, Unamuno, Pirandello. We learn also that the *Fédération des Unions Intellectuelles*, a movement for closer intellectual relations founded by Prince Charles de Rohan, opened its Spanish center whose president is going to be Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal of the Royal Academy of Spain. During this year another international group came into existence: it is the *Amitiés Internationales*, whose directing members are drawn from various social groups, and whose aim is to acquaint the public with the life and monuments of the various foreign countries so that every one may feel at home abroad. Literary movements of an international character seem to arouse a great deal of interest in many countries. The Italian novelist Bontempelli intends to found an international review under the unusual title "*900*," to be written in French, with centers of publication in Paris, Madrid, New York and Moscow. Variety and cosmopolitanism will surely be one of the most striking features of this new publication; and, according to the latest information, the periodical will enjoy the services of Ramón Gómez de la Serna as its Spanish director.—BELGIUM: Belgian writers organized some ceremonies to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the death of Verhaeren; and, together with the help of the Government, those literary associations will bring the poet's remains from the fighting line where they are still reposing to his native village on the banks of the Escaut river. This little, but very active, country is about to show once more what can be achieved when State and individual groups are willing to cooperate: some years ago King Albert was presented with an island on Lake Como, for the purpose of establishing there a colony of Belgian artists and writers. The difficulties of the war had not permitted to attempt anything in that matter until recently when the artists offered to establish and finance the colony, which will consist of villas enabling them to enjoy the Italian skies and inspiration. The innovation promises to be a very original and active

center. Music is always to the fore in Belgium: an opera of Darius Milhaud was created at Brussels, under the title *Les malheurs d'Orphée*. The orchestra of this work is reduced to a very small number of solo instruments, while the parts consist solely of those of Orphée, Eurydice, and a chorus of men and of women. Lovers of art will be glad to know that the Belgians are already making plans towards the festivities with which, in 1930, they will celebrate the centenary of the Independence of their country. Exhibitions of art throughout the land will be among the features of this commemoration.—CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: French music appears frequently on the programs of music-loving Prague whose inhabitants are also well informed in French art and philosophy. The *Institut Français* of that city, directed by M. Alfred Fichelle, organized a series of lectures on the tendencies of modern French literature. These lectures were as deeply appreciated as were in Paris those given earlier in the year by M. Pichon on Czech letters. Prague seems to be always friendly to things French, and reserved for a part of its national festivities this year a French program in which men of letters were to take part, including M. Gémier.—GERMANY: Whilst politicians alternately agree and disagree, men of arts and sciences attempt to bring about an understanding between France and Germany. This endeavour is again made manifest by the recent publication in Germany of a treatise on French literature, whose object is to inform the German public of the tendencies of French letters. Internationalism may be responsible for some very unexpected incidents in arts: a comic opera entitled *Les Précieuses* has been composed by a Czech composer; it is based on Molière's comedy, and will be translated into German!—SWITZERLAND: Just as we noted that the French provinces are tending toward a very strong regionalism in art and literature, so we may note a similar movement in *Suisse Romande*. A professor of elocution of the conservatories of Neuchâtel and Geneva, M. Jean-Bard, plans to present dramatic works by *Romand* authors, expressing the maximum of *Romand* character. He grouped together recently some young actors, with the object of performing plays and playlets dealing with *Romand* Switzerland, her customs and her people. The first attempt during the summer showed that such an enterprise would meet with success in Switzerland, and that it would help us, who live abroad, to understand the characteristics of a small people very distinct from the French in spite of the link of common language.—FRENCH THEATERS: Among the many problems which intellectual France has been facing ever since the close of the war is that of supporting her theaters. The ever-increasing cost of living, in all its aspects of stage expenditure, wages and salaries, compels theatrical managers to increase the prices of seats to a figure the French cannot meet. Managers therefore cannot produce plays involving numerous actors and elaborate staging: they fall back upon smaller or older plays, frequently rejecting innovations or the works of the more modern writers. On the other hand, the very large cosmopolitan Parisian population has to be catered to by means of lighter plays easily understood by the eyes when the ears do not grasp the French language. Those two factors, together with the increasing importance acquired by the motion picture houses and their less expensive entertainment within reach of everybody, combine to bring about a lowering of the standard of play production in France.

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## FRENCH BOOK NOTES

E. Tribouillois & Rousset, *Apprenons la Grammaire!*

French grammar is decidedly in fashion: some papers regularly give us grammatical consultations, well-known writers give lectures on grammar and from time to time, books of popularisation on that subject are published . . . and read! They interest both the French, who are naturally concerned with such a factor of national consciousness, and many foreigners anxious to master the intricacies and niceties of the French language. The latest book on this topic, a cousin to the *Soirées du Grammaire-Club*, *Ne dites pas . . . mais dites, Ce qu'il ne faut pas dire*, etc. . . . has a strikingly red printed title: *Apprenons la Grammaire!* immediately rendered attractive by the following subtitle: *Seul et sans peine, pour parler et pour écrire correctement*. Here the essential points of French grammar are clearly explained with a minimum of terminology. A feature of the book is chapter 10: *La Lecture, meilleur moyen d'étudier la grammaire* which contains a reading list, brief but useful to the American reader, classified under the following headings: I, Modern French society in the French novel (working men, peasants, bourgeois, etc. . . .); II, The French provinces (Alsace, Artois, etc. . . .); and III, How to study history by reading French novels.

C. Cestre et B. Gagnot, *Anthologie de la Littérature américaine*.

Whereas some attempt has been made to impart to the French cultured public some knowledge of English literature, very little indeed had been done in France to popularise American Literature. This little book, divided into seven parts (novel, philosophy, history, polygraphy, poetry, humor, drama), offers some 373 pages of representative texts translated into French, and preceded by an introduction of 29 pages, sketching summarily the history of American literature. American readers will be interested to see in this selection which American authors and works are considered by the French compilers as exemplifying best the resources of American literature. These translations will reach more French readers than would the English texts, but the growing numbers of English-speaking French people would undoubtedly welcome the publication of the same anthology in English.

G. Walch, *Anthologie de Poètes français contemporains (1866-1925)*.

A new edition of a well-known volume in the useful series edited by Pellissier and Walch, and noted for its bibliographies, its biographical sketches and the representative value of its selections.

Lamartine, *Œuvres choisies*.

A reprint of the excellent selection of M. G. Roth in two volumes (I, 228 pp.; II, 200 pp.). The texts are taken from the *Œuvres complètes* (1860-63), but—and this is a most useful feature of the edition—the poems are given in the chronological order of their composition according to the dates found on the manuscripts and in the correspondence of the author. This arrangement makes this selection particularly desirable for students. The *variantes* are given in footnotes. A complete table of concordance makes reference an easy task. These volumes are set up in very good type, being part of the well-known collection Larousse.

Pierre Flottes, *Alfred de Vigny*.

A biography together with an interpretation of the poet's works, by a critic who, in his former study of Baudelaire, had already established his ability to grasp and express the true character of a poet's personality. It was his good fortune to be allowed to use unpublished material which throws a new light on the author of *Les Destinées*. However the book is not burdened with notes and discussions pertaining to pure erudition: it is primarily a narrative in which are incorporated both new and old sources, and where biographical data and literary works are interrelated.

Louis Barthou, *Le Général Hugo*.

A biography based on General Hugo's unpublished correspondence, fragments of which are connected by M. Barthou's explanatory text so as to form a narrative. Thanks to a judicious choice of quotations the author overcame the usual dangers of such a compilation: the reading remains attractive throughout. Bravery, conjugal attitude, fatherly feeling, literary illusions, etc. . . . essential traits of the General's character, are vividly brought out and unquestionably established on indisputable sources. Chapters VIII to XI deal with the poetical début of Victor Hugo and Eugène Hugo's insanity.

Pierre Alexis Meunier, *Émile Montégut*.

Having defined and appreciated the Anglo-Saxon influence on Montégut's religious attitude in his youth, and having pointed out the influence of Carlyle on his thought and style, the author gives a systematic account of Montégut's criticism (literary, ethical and social) of Anglo-Saxon countries, especially the United States, and on his French contemporaries, particularly Michelet, Hugo and Gautier. Notes on his political writings, hostile to the doctrine of the French Revolution, and on his veneration and love of Shakespeare, whose works he translated into French, are followed by a conclusive chapter where Montégut as an essayist and a critic is assigned his own place in the history of thought and art.

Alphonse Siché, *Histoire merveilleuse de Jésus*.

Religious propaganda is not M. Siché's goal: the growing ignorance about Christ's life among the French people results from the policy adopted by French universities not to teach religious history, and must be counteracted for it is a menace to the understanding of many works of art in which French museums and churches are so rich. The scope of the book is entirely intellectual and aesthetic: whereas Renan discarded all that was not scientifically probable, M. Siché adopts the common tradition, both scientific and legendary, thus providing the indispensable background for the understanding of Christian art. The method of presentation is the synchronisation of the Gospels with insertion of episodes from the apocryphal gospels and allusions to medieval liturgy and art: this complete restoration of the tradition makes this book truly unique.

François Mauriac, *La Robe prétexte*.

A sincere document on French boyhood of the educated middle class. It does not tell of adventures but affords careful notes of a boy's reaction to home, religious and friendly influences, and of the results of a precocious love disappointment. This incident marks his farewell to the flaming sentimental life of the sixteenth

year, the discarding, so to speak, of the "robe prétexte" of ancient Roman adolescence, and his entering into manhood.

Jean Viollis, *L'Oiseau bleu s'est endormi*.

In these recollections of childhood we do not find formal notes on the intellectual and sentimental development of a child but rather most vivid remembrances of the people with whom he lived. The main character is a lovable grandfather, understanding, kind, open to the charm of fancies, fond of telling stories so originally humorous. . . . A few other characters, a very wise grandmother, an austere clergyman, a greedy one, etc. . . . are also lifelike. The novelty of this story is that, instead of offering a description of life with father and mother, it gives an insight into the sweet homelife of French grandparents.

Jeanne Ramel-Cals, *Amour en province*.

A double treat: sketches in drawing and words, taken from life in the provinces. And the style! Incisive short statements; unexpected images, speedily fired into brief chapters! Behind those rapid sketches there is much more than humor: a satirical rendering of pretty women's frivolity and man's selfishness or stupidity, a pity for the homely girl, for the disappointed and desperate husband, a feeling of melancholy at the sight of provincial vulgarity. Indeed sadness pierces through these realistic and amusing scenes directly drawn from the human comedy. Upon second thought the book assumes deep significance.

Frédéric Boutet, *L'Amour en été*.

A most original novel presented in dramatic form, wherein we see a wealthy *député* hypocritically advertizing socialistic ideas in order to promote his political career, his sister changing lovers out of vice and greed, the latter's husband a *fonctionnaire*, dissatisfied and intoxicated by unwarranted self-esteem, together with a few other personages strikingly sketched also. These characters stigmatize openly the contemporary society of politicians, *fonctionnaires* and mock bourgeois, with an alertness of action that makes this humorous book up-to-date and crisp reading. It is indeed the work of a true moralist.

Georges Grappe, *Un Soir, à Cordoue* . . . .

In the heart of Cordova with its Moorish setting, the traditional formula of the love-plot is successfully renovated. The methods of the French psychological novel are used here to bring out the character of a romantic Andalusian woman in love with the sentimental friend of her positive husband. The passion is expressed, but restrained and even renounced, until the end of the novel when there occurs a complete reversion of the conclusion first suggested. This should cause no surprise for it is in harmony with the general development of the very character on which the story is built—nay, it was even announced in the first pages.

Henry de Montherlant, *Les Bestiaires*.

The true adventures of a young French amateur toreador (M. H. de Montherlant himself) are set against the picturesque and tragic background of Spanish tauromachy and woven into an appropriate Sevillian love-plot. Although the action is in Spain, the interest of the book is essentially French: it lauds this sport and art practised in Languedoc and Provence where, according to President Doumergue, the passion for bull-fights has deeper roots than even in Spain.

Paul Morand, *Rien que la Terre*.

As a sub-title: *Voyage*. It is, as a matter of fact, a trip around the world; and so rapidly described that striking contrasts are brought out, thus constantly opposing races, customs and landscapes together with historical allusions in support of a rather pessimistic forecast of the future of our planet, of Europe in particular; and with a really gloomy outlook on the social psychology of the French in the last page. Now and then there occur reflections, so that the superficial reader should not miss the general philosophy which the narrative is intended to suggest. The nature of the subject matter affords M. P. Morand many opportunities to use his skill for vivid comparisons and images. A few pages about America.

Georges Bernanos, *Sous le Soleil de Satan*.

An unexpected piece of writing: it is a study in mysticism under the aspect of Satanic temptation. The hero, Abbé Donissan, is shown in his hesitations between truth and possible temptations. His encounter with Lucifer forms the climax of the book. The suicide of Mouchette, an erring soul whom the priest endeavours to save, and the failure of a miracle attempted by him, afford weird scenes. The reader is more than ever puzzled concerning the possibility of a tritium between divine and satanic inspiration.

Pierre de la Gorce, *La Restauration*.

The author of the *Histoire de la Seconde République française* (2 vols.) and of the *Histoire du Second Empire* (7 vols.) redresses in this new work the opinion commonly held on the Restauration. The wisdom of Louis XVIII's reign has been belittled by the glory of Napoleon I; and yet it is the latter's fault that made monarchy necessary in order to bring back to France her strength, her prestige and her wealth. As to the alleged blunders of the Bourbons, they harmed no one but the Bourbons themselves. The Charter, the liberation of the territory, the laws on voting, the opposition to the new régime, Villèle's ministry and the King's policy are presented in a new light and re-evaluated in these seven chapters defending a frequently misrepresented monarchy.

Léon Daudet, *Le Rêve éveillé*.

A series of essays on our power to dream while we are awake, based on direct introspection and expressed in the usual vigorous style and persuasive manner of Daudet. The book may very well mark a definite step away from the interpretations of Freud and Havelock Ellis. The natural magnetic pole which attracts and organizes the elements of our consciousness during our dreaming spells is the idea of the survival of the soul; hence a natural drift of our thought towards a meditation of a mystic character.

A. Broquelet, *A travers nos provinces: Normandie et Bretagne*.

Teachers, students and others, touring in France, seldom fail to visit the native land of Chateaubriand, Renan, and Brizeux. This volume, full of historical anecdotes, remarks about art and poetical appreciations, is profusely illustrated. It is much more than a guide book; and it would find a fitting place on the *francisant's* shelf.

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## SPANISH BOOK NOTES

*Contribución al Estudio del Italianismo en la República Argentina*, por Renata Donghi de Halpern. Cuadernos, Tomo I, No. 6, Buenos Aires, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1925, 16 pages (but numbered 183 to 198).

This article and one by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, which is noted below, are two of a series of short monographs published by the Instituto de Filología organized under the auspices of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. This particular piece of work was done under the direction of Américo Castro. The author lists about seventy Italian words and phrases frequently met with in the speech of the Argentine proletariat. He finds that many of these expressions are not Tuscan but are derived from the dialects of northern Italy. Of course many of these Italian words change their pronunciation to conform to Spanish speech-habits; for example, *strillare* becomes *estrilar* and *giorno* becomes *juerno*.

*El Supuesto Andalusismo de América*, por Pedro Henríquez Ureña. Cuadernos, Tomo I, No. 2, Buenos Aires, 1925, 6 pages (117-122).

The statement is often made that the Spanish spoken in America derives mainly from that of Andalusia. Mr. Henríquez Ureña maintains that such is not the case; first, because *seseo* and the substitution of *y* for *ll*, the most noticeable characteristics which distinguish American Spanish from that of Castile, may be observed not only in Andalusia but also in other provinces of Spain; second, because such phenomena as the substitution of *r* for *l* and the weakening of the final *s*, so characteristic of Andalusia, are rarely found in America; and lastly, because the Andalusians, during the conquest and in colonial times, constituted less than a third of all the Spaniards in America. In order to establish this last fact, the writer cites two specific groups of colonists and compares the number of Andalusians among them with the number of persons from other provinces of Spain.

*La Poesía de los Jóvenes de México*, por Xavier Villaurrutia, Mexico, 1924, pp. 26.

After mentioning the principal poets of Mexico from Aztec times down to Amado Nervo, the author discusses very briefly about a dozen of the younger Mexican poets of today. Eight short poems are quoted as typical of the work of these men.

*José Ingenieros, su vida y su obra*, por Jorge F. Nicolai, Eusebio Gómez, Raúl A. Orgaz, Rodolfo Senet, Víctor Mercante, Gregorio Bermann y Aníbal Ponce, *Revista de Filosofía*, Año XII, No. 1 (Enero, 1926), Buenos Aires, pp. 231.

*José Ingenieros (1877-1925)*, by Arturo Torres-Rioseco. A reprint from *The South-western Political and Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 4, March, 1926, Austin, Texas, pp. 10.

These articles are called forth by the death of José Ingenieros last year. The *Revista de Filosofía* was founded by Ingenieros in 1915 and now very fittingly devotes an entire issue to articles on his life and work. Aníbal Ponce, the present editor of the *Revista*, contributes a biographical sketch, and the director of the National Penitentiary of Buenos Aires writes of Ingenieros as a criminologist. The other articles, written by professors of the Universities of Córdoba and La Plata, treat of him as sociologist, psychologist and philosopher.

Arturo Torres-Rioseco calls Ingenieros "the greatest personality of modern



Argentina," and says that his *El hombre mediocre* is "one of the very few books by Spanish-American authors which every intellectual person ought to know." And the influence of the work upon the younger generation of Spanish-Americans is only comparable, we are told, to that of *Ariel* by the Uruguayan, José Enrique Rodó. Mr. Torres-Rioseco also discusses briefly another of Ingenieros' works, the *Hacia una moral sin dogmas*, which contains an analysis of the work of Emerson and shows its author to be conversant with the ideas of Channing, Horace Mann and Henry James as well.

*Precursores del Modernismo*, por Arturo Torres-Rioseco, Madrid, 1925, pp. 125.

Mr. Torres-Rioseco of the University of Texas discusses four of the forerunners of Rubén Darfo: the two Cubans, Julián del Casal and José Martí; the Mexican, Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera; and the Colombian, José Asunción Silva.

The critic first treats of the characteristics which these poets have in common: willingness to try new verse forms; influence of the French Decadents, and of Poe and Whitman; and a tendency toward melancholia and *mal du siècle*. Next the personality and work of each poet is considered separately. Del Casal is a realist and a decadent. Gutiérrez Nájera is simple, clear, frank, intimate. The versatile and energetic Martí, our critic holds, satisfies Carlyle's concept of "The Hero as a Poet"; he often blended thought and form in a most exquisite manner. Silva is found to be the most sensitive of all and the greatest artist. This little book is an able evaluation and appreciation of these four poets.

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### ITALIAN LITERARY NEWS

We learn that Gabriele D'Annunzio is to be honored by the publication of a national edition of his complete writings. The work is being entrusted to a committee, at the head of which are the King and the Prime Minister, Mussolini. A fund of several million lire has been raised to defray the necessary cost of printing; and Arnaldo Mondadori of Milan has been selected to publish the edition which, it is believed, will be the last word in Italian book production. This event is significant as well as unique in the literary annals of Italy.

Some of the rarest manuscripts of Italian literature as well as a number of valuable editions of old Italian books are now on exhibition at the Book Exposition in the Louvre in Paris. Among the prized works on display are the *Dante* of Mantua of 1472, the *Virgilio* of 1469, the *Valturio* of Verona of 1472, and the first editions of Siena, Pisa, Napoli, Torino, Ferrara, Lucca, and Scandiano.

Students and scholars of Italian culture will herald with great joy the announcement which was brought to our attention in a recent article by Ferruccio Rubbiani that the Hon. Fedele, Minister of Public Instruction in Italy, has now under consideration an extensive plan to reorganize and restore many of the libraries of Italy. The deplorable state in which many of the general libraries had fallen for many years has been a great source of constant ridicule and criticism by Italian scholars. These libraries, originally established through the generosity of former princes or through the initiative of monks or municipalities, have during the last fifty years been the last thought of the various governmental regimes. As a result, books and

manuscripts which from time to time had been added to the existing collections were allowed to pile up in haphazard fashion on dusty shelves with little or no attempt at systematic cataloging. Many of the collections are still stored either in monasteries or convents, and students who seek access to them often give up in despair after numerous hours of fruitless labor to find certain desired publications. It is believed that many valuable volumes, because of this state of affairs, have been either lost or stolen. And there are works in danger of being forever lost because of the lack of proper care and rebinding. The situation had become so acute that it is no wonder that the Minister of Public Instruction saw fit to act in helping to restore the libraries to their proper place in the contemporary life of Italy.

Professor Federico Enriques of the University of Rome, author of *Problemi della Scienza, Per la Storia della Logica* and *Scienza e razionalismo*, headed the Italian delegation to the recent Philosophic Congress at Cambridge, Mass. Besides the above publications, which have been translated into French, German and English, Dr. Enriques is the author of a number of works on Mathematics. Other members to the Philosophic Congress were Professors Raffaello Piccoli of the University of Naples, Giovanni Vidari of the University of Turin, and Giacomo Tauro of the University of Cagliari. Professor Piccoli has attracted attention in this country through his volume entitled *Benedetto Croce, An Introduction to His Philosophy*. He is also the author of several studies on Shakespeare, Shelley, and Keats. Professor Vidari is the author of the recent book entitled *L'Educazione dell'uomo*, and of numerous works on philosophy and education. Dr. Tauro is one of Italy's noted authorities on pedagogy.

These eminent Italian philosophers and educators were the guests of the Institute of Italian Culture in the United States at a recent dinner held at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University on which occasion, in response to addresses by Professor John L. Gerig, President of the Institute, and Hon. John J. Freschi, Professors Enriques, Tauro and Piccoli spoke eloquently of the growing interest and sympathy in Italy for America's intellectual activities.

We are informed of the forthcoming publication in New York of a new Review to be called *The Italian Digest*. According to Dr. Giuseppe Previtali, one of the leading sponsors of the magazine, it is to be non-political in character and will be published in English. The purpose of the Review is to present authoritative information on the latest economic, social, and intellectual developments in Italy through the medium of statistics and reports of Italian commissions, reprints of leading articles published abroad, and a bibliographical index of the most important publications dealing with contemporary Italy. The venture seems to be a serious one, for it not only has sound financial backing but is being directed by men prominent in the industrial as well as the intellectual life of this country.

#### ITALIAN BOOK NOTES

Ettore Cantoni, *Quasi una fantasia*, Milano, Treves, 1926. L. 10. Guido Van Giuliano, *La Vita bella*, Vallardi, Ed. 8.

If there are any who still believe that juvenile literature, to be successful, ought to contain elements of the didactic or that it should at least be guided by some fixed laws of pedagogical procedure, then here are two books that they might put down in their *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. If the problem in works of this genre

is to see how nearly the author approaches the instinctive candor and spontaneous sincerity of a child's mind, then these authors appear to have offered as near a solution as is possible. *Quasi una fantasia* is the story of two alert and precocious children of Trieste, seen not through the mature eyes and mind of the author but through the eyes and mind of the children themselves. In *La Vita bella* we find the same broad understanding and an almost maternal sense of observation of the everyday life in the world of children. The style is simple and attractive. There are no paradoxes. There are no flourishes.

These two novels will undoubtedly add to the significant progress that has been made in recent years in Italy along the line of publications for youths.

Guido Zaccagnini, *La Vita dei Maestri e degli Scolari nello studio di Bologna nei secoli XIII e XIV*. L. 50.

This is an interesting and valuable piece of scholarly work. It not only reveals some charming aspects of the medieval life of Italy but more particularly it portrays the internal and external life of one of the greatest educational institutions of the world. There are some enlightening chapters on the libraries of Bologna, on the customs and traditions of the scholars and teachers, the methods of teaching, and the relation between the institutions and the ecclesiastical and political authorities of the time.

Enrico Perito, *La congiura dei Baroni e il Conte di Policastro, con l'edizione completa e critica dei sonetti di G. A. de Petrucci*.

Enrico Perito in this volume has rendered a service to modern scholarship. The original manuscript which was the basis for his work is in such a deplorable condition that it would have been a question of only a few years before its ultimate destruction. The publication of this volume, therefore, not only preserves the information given in the original manuscript but presents in a more attractive way the history and literature of the Neapolitan life of the time. The work, which has been done with diligent efforts and painstaking research, adds new color and substance to our knowledge of this period.

Frati Carlo, *Indice Quindicennale (XI-XXV; 1910-1924) de 'La Bibliofilia'*, Firenze, Olschki.

*La Bibliofilia* is a review of bibliography and is each day becoming more and more a powerful instrument of literature. Frati gives here an almost indispensable volume for libraries and for scholars who seek general or specialized information regarding Italian literature. Among the important general indices are those on authors, book reviews, codices, old editions, and manuscripts on Dante.

### ITALIAN BOOK LIST

Among other recent publications in Italy we note the following:

#### I. Novels and Short Stories

ARCARI (P.), *Altrove* (L. 10); BENCO (Della), *Creature* (L. 9); BILOTTA (F.), *L'uomo del suo cuore* (L. 9); CAVICCHIOLI (Giovanni), *La morte nel pollaio* (L. 10); D'AMBRA (R.), *Le novelle della sorpresa* (L. 7); DE LORENZO (Giuseppe), *Asoko*; DE MARCHI (E.), *Vecchie storie* (L. 9); D'ORAZIO (D.), *Il libro di Markab, della donna e dell'amore* (L. 10); GIACHETTI (Cipriano), *L'uomo in catene* (L. 8); MESSANA (G.), *La colpa e la pena* (L. 8); SIBILLA (Salvatore), *Come tutti, come nessuno* (L. 11);

TEGLIO (A.), *Facce di tutti i giorni* (L. 5); THOVEZ (Enrico), *Il pastore, il gregge e la zampogna*; TONELLI (L.), *Gli inebriati* (L. 10); VALACCA (P.), *Un pugno in un occhio* (L. 8); VALORI (G.), *Gabri*; VIVANTI (Annie), *Perdonate Eglantina!* (L. 9); ZANI (F.), *La dea pallida* (L. 9).

## II. Poetry

CHIABRERA (G.), *Liriche* (L. 10); DE BARTHOLOMAEIS (V.), *Rime giullaresche e popolari d'Italia*; DI BENEDETTO (Luigi), *Rimatori del dolce stil novo* (L. 10); GUERRIERI CROCETTI (C.), *La lirica predantesca* (L. 15); MURMURA (P. E.), *Versi e Prose* (L. 10); SANNAZARO (J.), *Arcadia* (L. 8); SAFEENO (N.), *Frate Jacopone* (L. 10).

## III. Theatre

BENELLI (S.), *Il vizzo di perle* (L. 10); BORGOMANERI (Teresa), *Il romanticismo nel Teatro di G. B. Niccolini* (L. 15); DE STEFANI (A.), *Il Calzolaio di Messina* (L. 10); ELLERO (G.), *Salomé* (L. 10); FORZANO (G.), *Le campane di S. Lucio* (L. 10); LEGÀ (A.), *Francesco d'Assisi* (L. 3); ZOCCHI (A.), *Il martire di Galilea*.

## IV. Miscellaneous

ALLOGGIO (Sabino), *Le nuove teorie del diritto* (L. 20); BATTAGLIA (Felice), *L'opera di V. Cuoco e la formazione dello spirito nazionale in Italia* (L. 18); BELLI (Adriano), *Pensiero ed opere letterarie di W. Goethe* (L. 18); BERTUCCIOLI (A.), *Pierre Loti, Vita e opere* (L. 8); BIONDOLILLO (Francesco), *Saggi e ricerche* (L. 8); CALO (Giovanni), *Maestri e problemi di filosofia, Studi e scritti vari* (L. 19); CAMMARATA D'ALÙ, *Intorno a G. V. Gravina estetico e critico* (L. 8); CAVALCA (D.), *Le vite dei S. S. Padri* (L. 12); CECCOLI (Ines), *L'eroina alfieriana* (L. 10); CHABOD (Frederico), *Del Principe di N. Machiavelli* (L. 4); CIECO DA FERRARA (F.), *Libro d'arme e d'amore nomato. Mambriano. Introd. e note di G. Rua* (L. 12); CONSTANTINI (V.), *Il seicento e la sua pittura* (L. 10); COTUGNO (Raffaele), *Tra reazioni e rivoluzioni. Contributo alla storia dei Borboni di Napoli dal 1849 al 1860* (L. 10); DEL LUNGO (L.), *Firenze e l'Italia nella vita e nel poema d'Italia* (L. 3.50); DE RUBRIS (Marcus), *Bisogna far gl'Italiani. Aforismi di Massimo D'Azeglio scelti e disposti* (L. 12); FERRARI (Oreste), *Legione Trentina. Martiri ed Eroi trentini della Guerra di liberazione* (L. 40); FÖRGES (Davanzati R.), *Fascismo e cultura* (L. 5); FORTUNATO (Giustino), *Il Mezzogiorno e lo Stato italiano* (L. 16); FOSCO (A.), *Arie e artisti nelle chiese francescane secondo Giorgio Vasari* (L. 7); FOSCOLO (U.), *Saggi Letterari. Introd. e note di M. Fubini* (L. 10); GALIMBERTI (Alice), *L'Aedo d'Italia: Algernon Charles Swinburne* (L. 25); HÖFFDING (H.), *Storia della filosofia moderna. Trad. di P. Martinetti* (L. 8); LA CUTE (Pietrola), *Ortensio Lando e Napoli nella prima metà del cinquecento* (L. 10); LAMANNA (E. Paolo), *Il pensiero filosofico di Emanuele Kant*; LOMBARDO-RADICE (G.), *Scuole, Maestri, e libri* (L. 17); MARINO (Giuseppe), *San Tommaso d'Aquino* (L. 8.60); MASCI (Filippo), *La società, il diritto, lo Stato* (L. 25); MICHELS (Roberto), *Storia critica del movimento socialista italiano* (L. 24); MONTI (Antonio), *Pensiero ed azione* (L. 16); MUSSOLINI (B.), *Discorsi del 1925-6* (L. 15); PICCOLI (Valentino), *Avviamento alla filosofia di Vincenzo Gioberti* (L. 6.50); PINI (G.), *Benito Mussolini* (L. 5); *Publicazioni editte dallo Stato o col suo concorso: Soglio dei periodici e delle opere collettive 1901-25*; PULLE (Giorgio), *L'Italia peninsulare e insulare*; RANZOLI (C.), *Dizionario di scienze filosofiche* (L. 58); RENZI (G.), *La democrazia diretta, con introd. di A. Ghisleri e scritti di A. Labriola, A. O.*

Olivetti, A. Ghisleri, G. Ferrero, 3<sup>a</sup> edis. (L. 12); ROSMINI (Antonio), *Introduzione alla filosofia* (L. 8); SIMIONI (Attilio), *Le origini del Risorgimento dell'Italia meridionale* (L. 40); S. Francesco d'Assisi, *Vita di, 1182-1226*; TUNI (G.), *Il problema religioso nell'idealismo contemporaneo* (L. 5); VACCARI (P.), *L'Università italiana nella storia* (L. 5); VALERI (F. Malaguzzi), *Arte gaia* (L. 60); VICO (G. B.), *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione. Trad. e note di G. O. Marella, introd. di C. Licitra* (L. 5); WEIDLICH (C.), *Il convito poetico. Antologia della lirica ital. d'oggi* (L. 5); ZUCCANTE (Giuseppe), *Uomini e dottrine* (L. 19).

P. M. RICCIO

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

### INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS

At the Summer Session of Columbia University the following lectures were given under the auspices of the *Instituto*:

"Simón Bolívar (El Libertador)" by Mr. Emilio Agramonte, Jr.; "Around South America" by Howard Brenton MacDonald; "Rodó" by Mr. Ramiro Arratia; "Tendencies in the Study of Spanish" by Professor L. Imbert; "España vista por Sorolla" by Mr. Arturo Torres.

Since the last edition of the ROMANIC REVIEW our final publication for the academic year 1925-26, *Amado Nervo* by Miss Concepción Meléndez, has appeared. All active members for the year 1925-26 should now have received *Lope de Vega's El Castigo del Discreto together with a Study of Conjugal Honor in His Theater* by William L. Fichter, Ph.D., *Games for Spanish Clubs* by Colley F. Sparkman, Ph.D., and *Amado Nervo* by Miss Concepción Meléndez, as well as the four numbers of the ROMANIC REVIEW for 1926. Any members who have not received these publications are requested to write to the Secretary of the *Instituto*, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City, to that effect.

The *Instituto* considers itself very fortunate in securing as official lecturer for the current year Professor Fernando de los Ríos of the University of Granada, Spain. Professor de los Ríos is the author of numerous authoritative works on philosophy, democracy and socialism. As Technical Advisor he attended the International Labor Conference in Washington, D. C., in 1919. He was appointed by the "Bureau d'études internationales," an organization under the auspices of the League of Nations, to give a series of lectures on "L'influence de la pensée espagnole du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la théorie de Grotius," which appointment he resigned to accept the invitation of the Program Committee of the VI International Congress of Philosophy in Boston, Mass.

Professor Callcott spent the summer in Europe and while there passed several days in Madrid in the interest of the general work of the *Instituto* and the campaign for funds for the establishment of the Spain-America House at Columbia University. The faculty of the Centro de Estudios Históricos and of the Summer Session for Foreigners in Madrid were enthusiastic about our plans. The leading daily papers of Madrid promised their active support. Our President, Professor Homero Seris, who is Secretary of the Summer Session for Foreigners in Madrid, is in charge of the campaign in Spain.

FRANK CALLCOTT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

## INSTITUTE OF RUMANIAN CULTURE

At a dinner given at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University on Wednesday, August 25, by the delegation of Rumanian visitors in honor of Professor John L. Gerig and Mrs. Gerig and Hon. John J. Freschi, an Institute of Rumanian Culture in the United States was organized with J. L. Gerig as President. The aims of the new society are to develop intellectual relations between the United States and Rumania and to spread a knowledge of Rumanian culture in our country. The officers include Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Honorary President, and His Excellency Radu Djuvara, Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires, and Mr. William Nelson Cromwell, President of the Society of Friends of Rumania, Honorary Vice-Presidents.

Among the members of the Executive Council, as at present constituted, are: Professor Ioan Borcea, University of Jassy, Former Minister of Education of Rumania; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director, Institute of International Education; Mr. Leon Feraru, Honorary Consul of Rumania; Hon. John J. Freschi; J. L. Gerig; Professor Ion Inuleutz, member of the Rumanian Academy, Former Minister and Governor of Bessarabia; Professor J. B. Segall, University of Maine; Professor Nicolas Serban, University of Jassy; Professor Severa Sihleanu, Bucharest; Mr. Manoil Spiegler, Bucharest; Mr. Paul D. Tomy, Grand President, United Rumanian Societies of America; and Mr. T. Tileston Wells, Consul General of Rumania. Mr. Feraru is Vice President; Mr. N. H. Josephs, Executive Secretary; Miss Christine Galitz, Secretary of the Friends of the United States in Rumania, General Secretary; and Mr. Basil Alexander, President of the Club of Rumanian American Citizens, Treasurer. Professor Serban will be in charge of Studies in the United States, and will be pleased to advise all Rumanian students contemplating study in America.

Mr. Spiegler, who has been appointed head of the section of Studies in Rumania, is arranging for next summer a tour to Rumania for American professors and graduate students. The party will spend about five days in Holland and two weeks in Rumania, where they will be the guests of the Rumanian government. The total cost of the trip to each member from New York back to New York will be about \$250. As the number of persons to be included in the party will be limited, applicants are requested to address Mr. Leon Feraru, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University.

More than \$700.00 in donations to the Institute have been pledged. The Executive Council desires to take this occasion to thank the donors who include Mr. Spiegler, Professors Borcea, Serban and Sihleanu, and the members of the United Rumanian Societies.

After visiting New York, the Rumanian delegation visited Washington, where they were the guests of Georgetown University; Philadelphia; Pittsburgh, where they were received by the University; Ann Arbor, where they were the guests of the University; Detroit, where they attended the twentieth annual convention of the seventy-two organizations forming the Union of the Rumanian Cultural Societies of America, and where, also, they were received officially by the Governor of Michigan and the Mayor of Detroit; Chicago, to visit the University; Cleveland; Cornell University; and Niagara Falls.

The First Rumanian Congregation of Chicago and the Central States—representing six thousand members—has pledged support to the Institute.

The following radiogram has been received by J. L. Gerig from President Interim Coanda of the General Council of Ministers of Rumania:

"We beg to transmit the best thanks of the Rumanian Nation and Government



for the fine initiative of the committee of American professors for organizing a Rumanian Cultural Institute in order to establish intellectual relations between Americans and Rumanians, and at the same time their best wishes that this initiative may bind more closely the ties which we are desirous should exist between the two nations."

"Bucharest, Sept. 30, 1926." [Signed] "Coanda."

It is worthy of note that the graduate course *Rumanian 1115-1116, a survey of Rumanian literature*, conducted in Columbia University by Mr. Feraru, has this year a satisfactory registration.

### VARIA

At the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy held at Harvard University, September 13-17 inclusive, France was represented by six delegates, among whom were MM. Lapie, Recteur de la Sorbonne, Étienne Gilson of the University of Paris, exchange professor at Harvard (1926-27), and Professors Levy-Bruhl, membre de l'Institut, Bouglé and Robin of the Sorbonne. Italy was represented by four delegates whose names have already been given above (see ITALIAN LITERARY NOTES); Spain by Professor Fernando de los Rios, the well-known philosopher and literary critic of the University of Granada; Belgium and Portugal each by one delegate; and South America by Dean Alberini of the University of Buenos Aires. This was the first International Congress of Philosophy to be held on this continent. Previous congresses have been held since 1904 at Paris, Geneva, Heidelberg, Bologna and Naples.

The International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry held its convention at Washington, D. C., from Monday, Sept. 13, to Wednesday, Sept. 15, inclusive. The following were the delegates from the different Romance nations:

Belgium—Frederick Swarts, member Académie Royale de Belgique, President

Belgian National Chemical Committee, professor of the University of Ghent.

Chile—Joaquin Marco, Chilean State Railways.

France—M. Bellanger, Paris; Gabriel Bertrand, member Institut de France, President Fédération Nationale des Associations de Chimie de France, professor at the Sorbonne; M. Brangier, Senator and Vice President Société de Chimie Industrielle, Paris; Marc Bridel, Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, General Secretary Société de Chimie Biologique, Paris; Prosper Cholet; Justin Dupont, member of the Council, Société de Chimie Industrielle, Argenteuil; Ch. Lormand, Chemist of the Ministry of Agriculture; Louis Roche, L'École des Sciences Politiques, Paris; Paul Sabatier, Institut de France, Toulouse; Jean Voisin, Assistant General Secretary, Société de Chimie Industrielle, Paris.

Italy—Mme. M. Bakunin, professor Polytechnic Institute, Naples; Prince Ginori Conti, Senator and President of the Associazione Italiana di Chimica Generale ed Applicata, Florence; E. Crespi, Technical Director of the Società Benigno Crespi, Bergamo; Francesco Giordani, professor Scuola d'Ingegneria, Naples; Colonel Heibig, Rome; N. Parravano, University of Rome; Umberto Pomilio, Technical Director, Elettrochimica Pomilio, Naples; L. Rolla, professor University of Florence.

Rumania—C. Andronescu, professor of Hygiene, School of Agriculture, Bucharest; G. Gane, director Chemical Laboratory, Institutul Geologic al



Romanian, Bucharest; N. Minovici, professor of Medical Jurisprudence, University of Cluj; St. Minovici, General Secretary Chemical Society of Rumania, director Organic Chemical Laboratory, University of Bucharest. Spain—J. de Artigas, President Spanish Chemical Society, Madrid; Luis Bermejo, professor University of Madrid, delegate from the Ministry of Education; R. Cantos, Agricultural Engineer to Minister of Agriculture, Madrid; C. Fernandez, J. Giral and E. Moles, professors in the University of Madrid; A. Mora, President Commission on Combustibles, Minister in Commerce and Industry, Madrid.

Professor H. G. Doyle of George Washington University has been appointed Lecturer in French Philology at Johns Hopkins University for the academic year 1926-1927. Professor Doyle succeeds Professor Blondheim, absent on leave, and is conducting two graduate courses in Old French. Last year, through the efforts of Professor Doyle, Vicente Blasco Ibañez, the well-known Spanish author, presented to the library of George Washington University a complete collection of his works. The books are specially bound, and each contains the autograph of the novelist. Blasco Ibañez received the degree of Litt.D. from the University in 1920.

The *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris* contained in its number of Wednesday, July 28, 1926 (pp. 1-2), an account entitled "Réception à l'Hotel de Ville d'une délégation de membres de l'Institut des Etudes Françaises à l'Université de Columbia." Among the addresses reproduced are those of Reni-Mel, peintre du Ministère de la Guerre; M. Pierre Godin, Président du Conseil Municipal; M. Lefebvre, Directeur de l'Enseignement primaire, etc. Miss Elizabeth Kemlo, President of the Institut, and M. Philippe de La Rochelle of Columbia University replied in behalf of the delegates.

On Saturday, August 21, M. Reni-Mel had an interview in Rome with His Excellency Mr. Mussolini. The Duce was gracious enough to grant a sitting for the portrait which the well-known artist is painting as a donation to the Italian House of Columbia University. Among the best known works of the artist is the large painting "America" which was presented some years ago by the French Government to the American Legion. As a consequence, M. Reni-Mel was made Honorary Member of the Legion.

According to the *Rivista d'Italia e d'America* (July-August, 1926, p. 105), Dr. G. Previtali, President of the Association of Italian Physicians of the United States, Luigi Borgo, delegate of the Consiglio Centrale dei Fasci Italiani of North America, and Professor Dino Bigongiari of Columbia University, were granted an audience by His Excellency Mr. Mussolini.

On Monday, June 7, at a luncheon in the Men's Faculty Club given by Dr. Caroline Ruutz-Rees, Headmistress of Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn., an Association of the Doctors of Philosophy in Romance Languages of Columbia University was instituted under the Chairmanship of Miss Ruutz-Rees. The delegates representing the sixty-six members of the Association expressed the desire to issue a memorial volume to the late Professor Henry Alfred Todd. Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, was elected Chairman of the Editorial Committee, and Dr. Pauline Taylor, of New York University, Secretary.

Professor Paul Lapie, Rector of the University of Paris, delivered an address on French and American education at the opening exercises of Columbia University on Wednesday, September 22. The distinguished scholar not only pointed out interesting contrasts between the two systems, but emphasized especially the manner in which the American idea may be of great benefit to the French system.

A tea was given in honor of Professor Lapie at the Maison Française of Columbia University on September 30. Other guests of the Maison Française during the past few months include Jean-Marie Carré, Professor of English Literature in the University of Lyons, who came as Visiting Professor in the Summer Session of the University of California. Professor Carré, who was accompanied by Mme. Carré, was Visiting Professor of French Civilization and Literature in Columbia University in 1922-23. Charles Cestre, Professor of American Literature in the University of Paris, was also a guest of the Maison Française in August. Professor Paul Porteau of the Universities of Clermont-Ferrand and Lyons was a guest of the Maison Française during the months of July and August when he served as Visiting Professor of French Civilization and Literature in the Summer Session of Columbia University. Professor Jules Drach, of the Sorbonne, who is Visiting Professor of Mathematics at Columbia University during the present academic year, is now a guest of the Maison Française. A tea was given in his honor on Tuesday, Sept. 28.

At the celebration of the semi-centennial of Johns Hopkins University, on October 23, the LL.D. degree was conferred on L. Levy-Bruhl, professor of the history of modern philosophy at the Sorbonne. Professor H. C. Lancaster of the Department of Romance Languages presented the distinguished guest for the degree.

Professors Fortunat Strowski of the University of Paris, Membre de l'Institut, and Giuseppe Prezzolini of Rome, Latin Representative to the League of Nations, have accepted invitations to lecture in the Columbia University Summer Session of 1927. Professor Strowski, who is well known for his literary and dramatic criticisms, will conduct courses on contemporary French drama and French civilization. Professor Prezzolini, who is one of the leading critics of Italy, will lecture on contemporary Italian literature and Italian literary history.

The *Instituto de las Españas* has just issued a bulletin of 29 pp. containing the history and significance of the *Instituto*, with a brief outline of its purposes and proposed development. It is hoped that the bulletin will serve to open the campaign for a Spain-America House to be established under the auspices of Columbia University.

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